



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

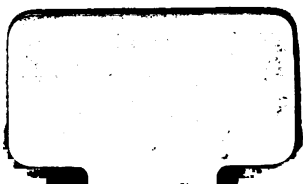
Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>





38.

38.









**HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY OF
GREECE.**

LONDON:
PRINTED BY JOHN WERTHEIMER AND CO.
FINSBURY CIRCUS.

THE
HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY //
OF GREECE,

INCLUDING ITS
LITERATURE, FORMS OF GOVERNMENT,

AND
THE SPREAD OF GRECIAN CIVILIZATION BY
COLONIES AND CONQUESTS.

BY
THOMAS SWINBURNE CARR,
AUTHOR OF THE "MANUAL OF ROMAN ANTIQUITIES," AND
CLASSICAL MASTER IN KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON.

LONDON:
SIMPKIN, MARSHALL & CO.,
STATIONERS' HALL COURT.

1838.

38.



PREFACE.

As the plan of the present Work differs considerably from that of any preceding work on the same subject, and as its utility will probably be estimated from that point of view, a few preliminary remarks in explanation might not appear irrelevant.

Within the narrow limits assigned to the present Work, it did appear desirable to the Author to combine the leading facts of Grecian History in a clear and consistent series—unencumbered by those minute and circumstantial details which, by distracting the attention of the reader, confuse at once his memory and judgment. In more voluminous histories such details are certainly not out of place; as they may be rendered interesting by the graces of style and the diffuseness of the narrative; and the unity of the work may be preserved by exhibiting their connexion with the facts which they illustrate. But in a compendium

like the present, such an attempt must have been a failure; and, instead of a history in miniature, the work would have been nothing better than a chronological table in disguise; and, notwithstanding its deceptive matter-of-fact appearance, it might have proved totally inapplicable for practical purposes.

Whether we look at History in its popular or its etymological¹ meaning, we can only define it as the "science of investigating facts;" and it has a nobler object than that of relieving the vacancy of an idle hour. It is not enough that the facts, contained in an historical work, should be ascertained to be true; the investigation is not yet complete, for, to the reader of another age and country, they must be rendered credible. It has been observed, that "in all which regards the Romans, the Greek writers are our best and most instructive guides, because they wrote for Greeks, that is to say, for persons who were ignorant of the Roman manners and institutions; and they address themselves, as it were, *to us*. Being strangers themselves, they write with a fulness which strangers can understand."

In order, therefore, to render the study of History not merely an exercise of the memory, but subservient

¹*ἱστορίω, inquirō, percontor, investigo.*

to the great object of education—the development and cultivation of the reasoning powers—it is necessary to exhibit a due connexion betwixt events and the causes which produced them, and to record nothing without a sufficient rationale. The Author has, therefore, introduced into the body of the *History* such remarks on the general state of society as may serve to explain the narrative; and such accounts of the leading characters as may tend to render their actions intelligible. With this view, he has also added distinct chapters in reference to particular epochs—as the “Heroic Age,” the “Legislation of Solon and Lycurgus;” and, particularly, a chapter on the “Organization of the Athenian Republic, civil, military, and political.” In the *Geography*, the various localities are associated with whatever is remarkable in History, Poetry, or Fable; and the references are given to the pages in the *History* where the occurrences are narrated, so that the *Geography* may serve as a praxis on the *History*. A concluding chapter has been added on the “Progress of Geography”—connecting the notices scattered through various portions of the Work, and exhibiting their mutual relation. The chapter on the *Literature* of Greece, though confined within narrow limits, presents a sketch of the leading departments, as well as brief critical notices of the principal writers in those departments. References are given

uniformly throughout the Work, to the best authorities; and important passages are frequently cited from the originals. Numerous notes have been appended, bearing especially on the illustration of *Classical Phraseology*—and particularly of political terms, so necessary for the understanding of the Greek Orators and Historians. The *Index* will be found to contain references to the most important of those phrases, as well as the localities in the Geography.

CONTENTS.

PREFACE.....	Page i
--------------	-----------

GEOGRAPHY OF GREECE.

CHAP. I.

Boundaries of Greece, &c.

Climate—Greek Cities—Military Geography—Physical Aspect, Phenomena, and Productions—Divisions of Greece—Hellas and Thessaly.....	13
--	----

CHAP. II.

Peloponnesus.

Boundaries—Mountains, Capes, Gulfs, Rivers—Laconia—Messe- nia—Elis, Olympic Games.....	19
---	----

CHAP. III.

Peloponnesus.

Achaia, Achæan League—Sicyon—Corinth, Argolis, Ægina, Ar- cadia.....	26
---	----

CHAP. IV.

Hellas Proper and Thessaly.

Attica—Topography of Athens, Eleusis.....	33
---	----

CHAP. V.

Hellas Proper and Thessaly.

Megaris—Bœotia—Phocis, Delphi.....	41
------------------------------------	----

CHAP. VI.

Hellas Proper and Thessaly.

Doris—Locris—Ætolia—Acarnania—Thessaly.....	48
---	----

CHAP. VII.

The Northern Countries of Greece.

	Page
Epirus—Macedonia—Thrace.....	53

CHAP. VIII.

The Islands.

Ionian Isles—Crete—Rhodes—Cyclades, Sporades—Eubœa— Samothece, Lesbos, Samos, &c.....	58
--	----

CHAP. IX.

Greek Colonies.

Asia Minor—Æolian Colonies—Ionian—Dorian—Colonies on the Coasts of Thrace, the Propontis, and the Black Sea—Cyprus— Cyrene—Magna Græcia—Colonies in Sicily.....	66
---	----

LITERATURE OF GREECE.

Epic Poetry; Homer—Cyclic Poets—History; the Logographi, Herodotus, Thucydides—Tragedy; Æschylus, Sophocles, Eu- ripides—Comedy; Aristophanes.....	75
--	----

HISTORY OF GREECE.

CHAP. I.

History of Greece till the Heroic Age.

Early Grecian History—Pelasgi—Hellenes—Foreign Colonies— Heroes—Argonautic Expedition, &c.....	97
---	----

CHAP. II.

The Heroic Age.

Form of Government—Labours of Agriculture—Domestic Arts— State of Society—Grecian States—Early Heroes.....	105
---	-----

CHAP. III.

The Trojan War and the Establishment of Colonies.

Trojan War—Ilium—Grecian Armament—Battles before Troy— Consequences of the War—Return of the Heraclidæ—Foreign Colonies—Geography of Homer.....	111
---	-----

CONTENTS.

vii

CHAP. IV.

Establishment of Republics.—Sparta.

Greek Colonies—Change of Government—Institutions of Lycurgus—Their Character—Messenian Wars.....	Page 120
--	-------------

CHAP. V.

Athens.—The Constitution of Solon.

Early Kings of Attica—Division of the People—Codrus—Institution of Archons—Solon—His Regulations and Institutions	131
---	-----

CHAP. VI.

History of Greece till the Commencement of the Persian Wars.

Pisistratus — Harmodius and Aristogiton — Expulsion of Hippias—The Persian Empire — Darius Hystaspes — Revolt of Miletus.....	143
---	-----

CHAP. VII.

The Persian Wars, till the Death of Miltiades.

Miltiades—The Battle of Marathon—Expedition to Paros—Condemnation of Miltiades—Themistocles—Athenian Enterprise	150
---	-----

CHAP. VIII.

The Persian Wars, till the Death of Leonidas.

Invasion of Xerxes—His Army and March—The State of Greece—Leonidas at Thermopylæ.....	157
---	-----

CHAP. IX.

The Persian Wars, till the Battle of Salamis.

The Persians at Eubœa—Stratagems of Themistocles—Battle of Salamis—Retreat of Xerxes—Honours conferred upon Themistocles.....	166
---	-----

CHAP. X.

The Persian Wars, till the Battle of Mycale.

Intrigues of Mardonius—Battle of Platææ—Battle of Mycale—Liberation of the Ionians—Hegemony of Sparta.....	173
--	-----

CHAP. XI.

<i>The Persian Wars, till the Recall of Pausanias.</i>	Page
Festivals and Monuments of the Greeks—Fortification of Athens	
—The Piræus—Intrigues of Pausanias—Hegemony of Athens	180

CHAP. XII.

Pausanias, Simon, Pericles.

Condemnation of Pausanias—Exile of Themistocles—Victories of Cimon—Treatment of the Allies—Regulations of Pericles..	186
--	-----

CHAP. XIII.

History of Greece till the Death of Cimon.

Earthquake and Insurrection at Sparta—Expedition to Egypt—Struggles in Greece—Embellishment of Athens—Athenian Character.....	194
---	-----

CHAP. XIV.

History of Greece till the Peloponnesian War.

Struggles in Greece—Defection and Reduction of Eubœa—Truce between Athens and Sparta—Reduction of Samos—Athenian Empire—Designs of Pericles—The Peloponnesian War.....	202
--	-----

CHAP. XV.

The Peloponnesian War.

Corcyra and Corinth—Corinth, Athens, and Sparta—Resources of the two leading States—Invasion of Attica—Advantages gained by the Athenians.....	208
--	-----

CHAP. XVI.

The Peloponnesian War.

The Plague at Athens—Death of Pericles—Reduction of Lesbos—Capture of Plataeæ.....	215
--	-----

CHAP. XV.*

The Peloponnesian War.

Revolution at Corcyra—Fortification of Pylus—The Spartans reduced at Sphacteria—Alternations of Fortune—Truce.....	222
--	-----

CHAP. XVI.*

The Peloponnesian War.

	Page
Character of Alcibiades—Sparta and Argos—The Sicilian Expedition—Charges against Alcibiades—Departure of the Fleet...	228

CHAP. XVII.

The Peloponnesian War.

Operations of the Army in Sicily—Recall of Alcibiades—Arrival of Gylippus—The Syracusans successful—Surrender of Nicias and Demosthenes	236
---	-----

CHAP. XVIII.

The Peloponnesian War.

Consternation of the Athenians—Revolt of the Allies—Treaty with Tissaphernes—Intrigues of Alcibiades—Dissolution of the Democracy—The Recall of Alcibiades.....	245
---	-----

CHAP. XIX.

The Peloponnesian War.

Successes of the Athenians—Return of Alcibiades—Lysander—Disgrace of Alcibiades—The Ten Generals.....	253
---	-----

CHAP. XX.

Peloponnesian War—The Thirty Tyrants.

Successes of Lysander—Battle of Ægos-potamos—Reduction of Athens—Death of Alcibiades—Corruption of the Spartans—Thrasylbulus—Expulsion of the Thirty Tyrants.....	262
---	-----

CHAP. XXI.

Expedition of Cyrus.

Cyrus the Younger—Clearchus—Battle of Cunaxa—Treachery of the Persians—Retreat of the Ten Thousand under Xenophon.....	275
--	-----

CHAP. XXII.

Agésilau in Asia.

Successes of Agésilau—Death of Tissaphernes—Designs of Agésilau—Recall.....	281
---	-----

CHAP. XXIII.

Confederacy against Sparta.

	Page
Confederacy against Sparta—Victory of Conon—Battle of Coronea—Walls of Athens rebuilt—Peace of Antalcidas.....	287

CHAP. XXIV.

Pelopidas and Epaminondas.

Conduct of Sparta—Pelopidas—Liberation of Thebes—Epaminondas—Victory of Pelopidas.....	295
--	-----

CHAP. XXV.

Ascendancy of Thebes.

Successes of the Athenians—Secession of Athens—Battle of Leuctra—Truce Concluded.....	303
---	-----

CHAP. XXVI.

Ascendancy of Thebes.

Arcadia—Invasion of Sparta—Trial of Epaminondas and Pelopidas—Progress of the War—Battle of Mantinea—Death of Epaminondas.....	308
--	-----

CHAP. XXVI.*

State of Greece.—Philip.

Agesilaus in Egypt—Corruption of the Grecian States—Character and Progress of Philip—Misconduct of Athens—Position of the Grecian States.....	316
---	-----

CHAP. XXVII.

Philip and Demosthenes.

Progress of Philip—The Sacred War—Character of Demosthenes—State of Athens—Exhortations of Demosthenes.....	324
---	-----

CHAP. XXVIII.

Philip and Demosthenes.

Capture of Olynthus—Progress of Philip—Subjugation of the Phocians—Philip elected Member of the Amphictyonic Council—Exhortations of Demosthenes.....	333
---	-----

CHAP. XXIX.

Philip and Demosthenes.

	Page
Warnings of Demosthenes—Commotions in Thrace—Attacks on Perinthus and Byzantium—Second Sacred War.....	342

CHAP. XXX.

Philip and Demosthenes.

Alarm at Athens—Efforts of Demosthenes—Battle of Chæronea —Preparations for the Asiatic Invasion—Death of Philip.....	347
--	-----

CHAP. XXXI.

Alexander.

Birth and Education of Alexander—Fate of Thebes—Battle of the Granicus—Conquest of Asia Minor—Battle of Issus.....	352
---	-----

CHAP. XXXII.

Alexander.

Reduction of Tyre—Conquest of Egypt—Pilgrimage to the Temple of Jupiter Ammon—Foundation of Alexandria—Battle of Ar- bela—Capture of Susa, Persepolis—Progress of Luxury.....	361
---	-----

CHAP. XXXIII.

Alexander.

Murder of Darius—Contests with the Scythians—Murder of Par- menio, Clitus, &c.—Invasion of India—Defeat of Porus.....	370
--	-----

CHAP. XXXIV.

Alexander.

Dissatisfaction of the Macedonians—Adventure of Alexander— Voyage down the Indus—March through the desert of Gedrosia	377
--	-----

CHAP. XXXV.

Alexander.

Dissatisfaction of the Army—Speech of Alexander—Return of the Veterans—Death of Hephæstion—Death of Alexander.....	382
---	-----

CHAP. XXXVI.

Successors of Alexander.

Partition of the Empire—Disturbances in Greece—Death of De- mosthenes—Quarrel of the Generals.....	389
---	-----

CHAP. XXXVII.

Successors of Alexander.

	Page
Gradual Extinction of the Royal Family—Confederacy against Antigonus—Fluctuating Divisions of the Empire—Exploits of Demetrius—Battle of Ipsus.....	396

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Successors of Alexander.

Exploits of Demetrius—Seleucus and Lysimachus.....	402
--	-----

CHAP. XXXIX.

Partition of the Macedonian Empire.

Egypt, the Ptolemies—Syria under the Seleucids—Pergamum, the Attali—Parthia, the Arsacides—Bactria—The Jews—Bithynia, &c.....	406
---	-----

CHAP. XL.

The Achæan League.—Subjugation of Greece.

Invasion of the Gauls—Pyrrhus, king of Epirus—The Achæan League, Aratus—Ætolian Confederacy—Revolution in Sparta, Agis, and Cleomenes—Philip and the Ætolians—Subjugation of Greece by Rome—Its subsequent condition.....	410
---	-----

CHAP. XLI.

Union of the Greek States.

Language—Religion—Amphictyonic Council—Olympic Games—Influence of Homer—Oracles.....	423
--	-----

CHAP. XLII.

Constitutions of the Greek States, &c.

Republican Spirit—Education—Rights of Citizenship—Popular Assembly—Senate—Magistrates—Judiciary Institutions—Slaves—The Demos—Coinage—Commerce—Expenditure—Mercenaries—Army and Navy, &c.—Sources of Revenue.....	433
---	-----

CHAP. XLIII.

Progress of Geography, Commerce, and Civilization.

Phœnicians—Geography of Homer—Anaximander—Phœceans—Circumnavigation of Africa—Travels of Herodotus—Retreat of the Ten Thousand—Eudoxus—Asiatic Expedition—Alexandria—Eratosthenes—India—Voyage of Nearchus—Spread of Grecian Civilization.....	453
--	-----

GEOGRAPHY OF GREECE.

CHAPTER I.

BOUNDARIES OF GREECE, ETC.

Climate—Greek Cities—Military Geography—Physical Aspect, Phenomena, and Productions—Divisions of Greece—Hellas and Thessaly.

THE name of Greece, which is associated with so many historical recollections, has been used at different periods in a widely different extent. In the present instance, in order to include the northern countries, we shall employ it as a general designation of those lands which, at this moment, constitute the European section of the Turkish empire, and the lately established kingdom of Greece.

According to this extent of the term, Greece is bounded on the north by Austria and Russia—on the west by Austria, the Adriatic, and Ionian¹ seas—on the south by the Mediterranean (*Mare Internum*),² and on the east by the Ægean sea, the Hellespont, the sea of Marmara (*Propontis*), the

¹ Τὸ Ἰόνιον πῖλαγος, τὸ Σικελικὸν πελ. Λιβυκὸν καὶ μεσημερινὸν πελ.—*Mare Siculum, M. Libycum.*

² Termed by the Greeks ἡ ἔσω θάλασσα, ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς, ἡ παρ' ἡμῖν, ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ θάλασσα, ἡ θάλασσα, and by the Romans *Mare Nostrum, Medius Liquor*. At the mouth of the Hellespont commenced the Ægean, denominated also by the Greeks, "this sea," or "the sea near us."

Bosphorus, the Black Sea (*Pontus Euxinus*¹), and Russia. The northern boundary towards Austria is defined from west to east, by the course of the Save, till its influx into the Danube (*Ister*); then by the Danube itself,² and afterwards by the mountains which separate Wallachia and Moldavia from Transylvania and Galicia. The Pruth forms the eastern, and the Danube, till it opens into the sea, the northern boundary on the side of Russia.

Situated as Greece was, in the centre of the three quarters of the world—surrounded on every side by islands—her coast greatly indented by the sea, and presenting a number of inlets hardly inferior to the well-known gulfs of Argos and Corinth, we can scarcely conceive any situation better adapted for the growth of commerce and the progress of civilization. The climate of Greece, and the whole peninsula of the Hæmus, is not so mild as might have been suspected from its geographical latitude. This may be accounted for, partly from its easterly situation, and partly from the range of snow-capped mountains by which it is traversed. We read that the Gallic tribes under Brennus could not endure the cold at the foot of Parnassus—that the Hebrus, in Thrace, was frequently frozen; and the expressions with which Hesiod describes the winter of Ascræ in Bœotia, which lies under the same degree of latitude as Naples—might almost pass for the description of a Polish Winter. Attica was preeminently favoured by its sky; yet foggy vapours hovered over the plains of Bœotia and Arcadia, as well as over Eretria.

¹ *Εὐξείνως*, *hospitable* (*εὖ, ξείνως*), anciently *Ἀξείνως*, on account of the barbarity of the inhabitants of its coasts. Eustathius and others conceive the term *εὐξείνως* to be a mere euphemism (compare *Eumenides*, *Parcæ*, &c.); whilst others ascribe it to the Greek colonies which covered the shores of the Euxine, and won for it the name of “hospitable,” being the seats of Greek civilization and refinement, down to a late period, in the midst of barbarism.

² Strictly speaking, this river bore the name of *Danube* from its source to Vienna, and the name of *Ister*, from Vienna till its opening into the sea.—*Agathemer*, ii. 4.

In passing, we may enumerate the most celebrated Greek cities, which were distinguished either by their power or civilization. These were *Athens*, in Attica; *Sparta*, or *Lacedæmon*, in Laconia; *Argos*, *Mycenæ*, and *Corinth*, in the district of Argolis; *Thebes*, in Bœotia; *Megalopolis*, in Arcadia. Amongst the colonies we must not forget *Miletus* and *Ephesus*, in Ionia; *Mitylene*, *Chios*, *Samos*, and *Rhodes*, on the islands in the neighbourhood of Asia Minor; *Byzantium*, on the Thracian coast; *Corcyra*, on the island of the same name; *Tarentum*, *Sybaris*, and *Locri*, on the coast of Italy; *Syracuse*, *Agrigentum*, *Gela*, and *Leontium*, in Sicily; and *Cyrene*, in Africa. At a later period *Alexandria*, in Egypt; *Antioch*, in Syria; and *Seleucia*, on the Tigris in Chaldæa, were also considered as Greek cities.

As we have a physical geography, in reference to soil and climate; a political geography, marking out the boundaries of states and their civil peculiarities; in the same manner we have a *military geography*, relating to important posts of occupation, or points of defence against an invading army. The most important of such points are defiles or narrow passes,¹ because their preoccupation enables a very inferior force to dispute the progress of an advancing army. Such, for instance, was the pass between Olympus and Ossa, formed by the celebrated vale of Tæmpe, where the Thessalians had first intended to arrest the progress of Xerxes from Macedonia into Thessaly (p. 162); until they reflected that there was another pass which led from the territory of the Perrhæbians to the Thessalian city Gonnus. Such again was the strait of Thermopylæ, where the innumerable hosts of Xerxes were arrested by Leonidas and his devoted followers (p. 163). But there was another pass near Trachis, lying to the west of Thermopylæ, and usually termed the upper pass,² which, when discovered by Ephialtes, enabled 20,000 Persians to assault the enemy in rear, while the main body attacked them in front (p. 164).

¹ Εἰσβολαί, πύλαι.

² Τὰ ἀνόπαια.

There were several passes leading from this point over the mountains of the *Locri Epicnemidii*, into the plain of Elatea, the chief of which was early occupied by Philip, in his second invasion of Hellas (p. 347). When an army had once obtained possession of Phocis, it was easy to follow the course of the Cephissus, and enter Bœotia. Having entered Bœotia, the invading army, if wishing to push into Attica, had the choice of three passes: two leading over Mount Cithæron, the first, named the Oak's Heads,¹ by way of Eleutheræ to Eleusis, and the plains of Athens; the second direct to Attica, by the fortress of Phyle: the third pass led from Tanagra over Mount Parnes, to the Attic fortress Decelea.

Such are the passes on the eastern side of Greece. On the western side we have only one, but of great importance. It is extremely long, leading through the valley of the river Aëus, and opening into the sea near Apollonia. It was owing to the bad defence of this pass by the Epirotes, that the whole of Epirus was in a state of barbarism from the earliest periods; that Homer does not insert it as an integral portion of Greece, in his "catalogue of the ships," and that Greece Proper is made to commence with the gulf of Ambracia.

With respect to the strong places² of Greece, or such places as nature indicates to be important points of defence, they are three in number, termed by Philip III. of Macedon, the fetters of Greece³:—a. *Chalcis* on the strait of the Euripus; and, in fact, the term might be applied to the whole of Eubœa, since, from this point, Phocis and Bœotia might be easily invaded, and it was not very difficult to push from Bœotia into Attica: we see what a struggle Pericles made to retain possession of it (p. 203):—b. *Acrocorinthus* in the Peloponnesus, which commanded the approach to the pass of Phlius, between the mountains Cyllene and Arachnæon. It was conveniently situated for closing the Isthmus, and, if

¹ Δρυοσκεφαλαί.

² Termed τὰ στενὰ.

³ Ἀκραι.

⁴ Πίδαι Ἑλληνικαί.—Polyb. 17. 11.

properly fortified, might be no less secure than the rock of Gibraltar:—c. *Demetrias* in Thessaly, which was most advantageously situated for defending the approaches to the vale of Tempe, and from its proximity to the island of Eubœa, Attica, the Peloponnesus, Cyclades, and the opposite shores of Asia, was an important acquisition to the sovereigns of Macedonia (p. 404). Demetrius termed Acrocorinthus and Ithome in Messenia, the two horns by which the Peloponnesian ox might be secured.

According to the earliest traditions, the continent, the seas, and islands of Greece were the scenes of great natural convulsions. We are told that the *Euxine*, originally an inland lake, burst its barriers, and formed a connection with the *Ægean*, by opening the channels of the Bosphorus and Hellespont. That the seas were subject to irregular tides, is indicated by various traditions, as the Ogygian deluge, the rising of Rhodes from the sea, and its subsequent inundation; the separation of the islands Cos and Nisyrus; the settlement of the floating island of Delos; the Symplegades, and Scylla and Charybdis, &c. The operation of volcanic fires is supposed by some to be commemorated in the wars between the Titans and the gods; valleys were dried up like those of the Thessalian Peneus, and the Laconian Eurotas; hence the indented ravines of Laconia obtained for it the epithet of¹ “the land of the many caverns.” Throughout the history of Greece we meet with a series of earthquakes destroying cities, as Sparta, Sicyon, Rhodes, &c., or inundating them with the waves; separating islands, converting them into volcanoes, and effecting all those transformations which are the usual concomitants of such elemental convulsions.

Allowing for the inequalities of its surface, Greece may be considered, upon the whole, as a land not less rich than beautiful. If other regions were more fertile in grain, and more favourable to the cultivation of the vine, few surpassed

¹ Καυράεσσα.—*Hom. Il. ii. 581. Al. Κηρώεσσα.*

it in the growth of the olive, and of other valuable fruits. Silver was dug from the mines of Laurium, in Attica; and the mountains of Laconia and Argolis, as well as those of Eubœa, contained rich veins of iron and copper, as well as precious quarries. The marble of Pentelicus, in Attica, was nearly equalled in fineness by that of the isle of Paros, and that of Carystus, in Eubœa. The Grecian woods still excite the admiration of travellers, as they did in the days of Pausanias, by trees of extraordinary size. Herodotus observes, that of all countries in the world, Greece enjoyed the most happily tempered seasons; but this, as we have already remarked, must be understood with certain deductions. On the other hand, the heat of the summer is tempered, in exposed situations, by the strong breezes from the north-west (the *Etesian* winds), which prevail during that season in the Grecian seas; and it is possible that Herodotus may have had their refreshing influence chiefly in view.¹

For the sake of convenience, we shall divide the territories comprised under the general designation of Greece, into *Greece Proper*, or *Hellas*; the *Northern Countries*; the *Islands*; and the *Colonies*. The Grecian continent, properly so called, consisted of two principal divisions, the Peloponnesus and the mainland without it.²

Greece Proper, or *Hellas*. It is usual to comprise, under the name of Hellas, the southern peninsula and the northern lands on the opposite coast. The ancients were not agreed whether Thessaly was to be included or not. We shall, however, include it, partly because it was the most ancient seat of the Greek or Hellenic tribes, and partly because many of its states had a voice in the council of the Amphictyons. In the strictest sense, *Hellas* only comprised the northern countries on the coast, to the exclusion of the southern peninsula. We shall therefore follow this natural division, and first treat of the Peloponnesus, then of *Hellas Proper*.

¹ *Thirlwall, Greece*, vol. i. pp. 28, 29.

² Ἡ ἕξω ἡπειρος.

CHAPTER II.

PELOPONNESUS.

*Boundaries—Mountains, Capes, Gulfs, Rivers—Laconia—Messenia—
Elis, Olympic Games.*

THIS great peninsula, which derives its modern name of *Morea*, from the similarity of its shape to that of a mulberry leaf,¹ is washed by the Ionian and Mediterranean seas. Its southern extremity fronts one of the most fertile regions of Africa. With the continent it is connected to the north by the Isthmus of Corinth, about five miles in breadth, or six modern Greek miles; hence it is termed *Hexamilion*. On the eastern side of the Isthmus, we have the Corinthian Gulf, and on the western the Saronic. The whole peninsula, and especially the centre, is covered with mountains; the most important of which is *Taygētus*,² now Pentedactylon, i. e. the ridge of the five fingers or knuckles, whose southern extremity terminates in the promontory of *Tænarum*. *Taygētus* separates Laconia from Messenia; it commands a view of the greatest part of the Peloponnesus, and may be descried from the isle of Zacynthus, or Zante.

The most important capes are the following:—in the south, three; namely, *Acritas* (C. Gallo) to the west, *Malea*, (C. St. Angelo) on the east, and *Tænarum* (C. Matapan)³ in the centre. *Tænarum* is separated from *Acritas*, by the *Messenian Gulf* (Gulf of Koron) and from *Malæa*,⁴ by the

¹ *Μορία, morus.* ² Also *Taygeta-orum*, Ταῦγερος, Τητύγερον.

³ "*Cape Matapan*, a modern Greek corruption from the ancient *Μίτωρον*, 'front'—the promontory boldly projecting into the Mediterranean."—*Anthon*.

⁴ *Μαλία, Malia, Mália.*—*Undisonæ umbo Maleæ*, Stat. Ach. i. 408—the promontory projecting like the boss of a shield. *Raucæ circumsonat ira Malææ*.—Stat. Theb. vii. 16. The danger from pirates and storms, in sailing round the capes of *Malea* and *Tænarus*, determined merchants rather to transport their goods over the Isthmus; whence Corinth became the mart of Asia and Europe.

Laconian Gulf (Gulf of Kolokythia). In the south-east we have the promontory of *Scyllæum* (C. Schilli), between the Argolic Gulf in the south, and the Saronic in the north.

The most considerable rivers are, the *Eurotas* (Basilico) which flows into the Gulf of Laconia; the *Alpheus* which empties itself into the Ionian sea; and the *Penēus* (Gastuni) which flows in the same direction. All these, and innumerable other smaller streams, have been immortalized by the history and poetry of the Greeks; though, when compared with the rivers of other countries, they sink into insignificance.

If a river be great or small, "according to the extent of the basin or valley, of which it is the natural drain"—it is evident that Greece was too much cut up into small sections, to admit the formation of large rivers.

Even to the times of Homer, Peloponnesus had no general name. It was sometimes called (after different portions of it) *Aigialēa*,¹ i.e. the land on the coast—*Argos*, from one of its oldest states, and *Apia*,² which would appear to signify merely a distant country. In later times it was universally called the *Peloponnesus*, or island of Pelops;³ and now the *Morea*. It is most usually, as well as most conveniently, divided into six districts: namely, Laconia, Messenia, Elis, Achaia, Argolis, and Arcadia.

Iaconica or *Laconia*, forming the south-eastern portion of the Peloponnesus, is bounded by Argolis, Arcadia, and Messenia. It is traversed, throughout its whole length, by the Eurotas, whose basin opens successively into three vales. The middle region is Homer's 'hollow Lacedæmon,' which Euripides further describes as girt with mountains, rugged and difficult of entrance for a hostile power.⁴ There was

¹ *Αἰγιαλῆα*, from *Αἰγιαλός*—the shore, coast. It also bore the names of *Inachia* and *Pelasgia*. The Aborigines were *Arcades*, *Cynurii*, and *Argivi*; the settlers or immigrants, *Pelasgi*, *Caucōnes*, *Lēlāges*, *Danai*, *Æōles*, *Achæi*, *Dorii*, and *Ætōli*.

² *Ἀπο*.

³ *Πέλοπος νῆσος*.

⁴ In *Strabo*, viii. p. 366. *Thirlwall*, *Greece*, vol. i. p. 24.

only one important city in the whole country; namely, *Sparta* or *Lacedæmon*, on the right bank of the Eurotas at the foot of Mount Taygetus.¹ Isocrates, we may observe, represents the invading Dorians as dispersing the conquered Achæans over the country, in order to perpetuate their weakness, (p. 115).

Thucydides has already remarked, that no one could form any conclusion, from the mean appearance of Sparta, as to its actual strength. Hardly any of its buildings claim our attention, except the *Pœcile*, a range of galleries, decorated with fine fresco paintings: a beautiful portico—*Persikê*—erected in commemoration of the victory at Plataæ, (p. 176); two *Leschæ*, or places of assembly; and a single temple of Minerva,² adorned with bas-reliefs, representing the achievements of Hercules and the *Dioscūri*, or sons of Jupiter. Here Pausanias took refuge, anticipating the seizure of the Ephori, (p. 187). Sparta had no citadel, like Athens or Corinth; and it was not fortified by walls, in order that the citizens might be always upon their guard.³

The supremacy of the Spartans was established by the battle of Tanagra, (p. 198); but lost for ever, on the field of Leuctra, (p. 306).

In the neighbourhood of the ruins of Sparta, which is now termed Palæochōri (ancient place), lies a village called Magula. When Sparta, in later times, was engaged in sea affairs, *Gytheum*⁴ was considered as its harbour. *Amyclæ* lay to the south of Sparta, containing a temple and statue of Apollo. Here were shewn the monuments of Cassandra,

¹ There were numerous hamlets, however, dignified with the name of towns. Some reckon up a hundred; hence, *Λακεδαιμῶν ἐκατόμπολις*.

² Termed *Chalcæcus*, i. e. *brazen temple*, (*χαλκοῦς οἶκος*). Sir William Gell discovered, in the interior of the treasury of Argos, a number of brass nails, placed throughout, at regular intervals on the walls, which he supposes were originally used, for securing plates of the same metal to the wall. Hence, perhaps, may be explained the seeming fables of brazen chambers and brazen temples.—*Gell's Itin.* 33.

³ *Ἐμφοροί*.

⁴ *Γύθειον*—Hence the Laconian Gulf, is also called *Sinus Gytheates*.

Agamemnon, and Clytæmnestra. *Therapnæ* stood on the opposite bank of the Eurotas—containing a temple of Castor and Pollux.¹

On the promontory of Tænarum stood a celebrated temple of Neptune, and here also was a cavern that was supposed to lead into the lower world.² *Cythëra*,³ (now Cerigo) was the most important island belonging to Sparta. It contained the oldest temple of Venus; and hence, *Cytherea* is used as an epithet of that goddess.⁴ From this island, the snowy summits of the Cretan Ida are clearly visible, and from them the eye can probably reach the Rhodian Atabyrus, and the mountains of Asia minor.⁵

Messenia constituted the south-western portion of the Peloponnesus, between Elis, Arcadia, and Laconia. When it was subjugated by Sparta, many of the inhabitants emigrated to Italy (p. 130), and there founded *Messana*, which at an earlier period was called *Zancle*, from the similarity of its harbour in shape, to that of a scythe.⁶ It cost the Spartans not less than three wars to effect the complete subjugation of Messenia.

After a lapse of 280 years, Epaminondas restored the scattered Messenians to their native country, and built for them an extremely strong city, *Messene*, now Mauromati, (p. 310).

The old capital of the country, *Andania* on the Charadrus, was destroyed by the Heraclidæ, on their return into the Peloponnesus, and the princes of that family resided at *Stenyclærus*.⁷ The city Messene, built by Epaminondas,

¹ Hence they are called *Therapnæi Fratres* (Stat. Theb. vii. 793), and Helen, who was born here, *Therapnæa Virgo*.

² Hence Horace calls it, *Invisi horrida Tænari sedes*.—i. Od. 34, 10; and Virgil—*Tænarias-fauces, alta ostia Ditis*, (G. iv. 467). Helena is called, *Marita Tænaria*, (Ov. Ep. xiii. 45)—from the town of *Tænarum*.

³ *Κύθηρα*.

⁴ So the month of April, as sacred to Venus, is termed *Mensis Cythereius* (Ov. Fast. 4. 195), and pigeons, for the same reason *Cythereiades columbæ*; also the myrtle, *Cytheriaca Myrtus*.

⁵ Diod. v. 59. *Thirlwall*, vol. i. p. 2. ⁶ *Ζάγκλη*. ⁷ *Στενύκληρος*.

lay at the foot of Mount *Ithōme* (now Mont^e Vulcano); and was protected by a fortress. A fortress stood, anciently, on Mount *Ira*, which cost the Spartans eleven years' siege. *Sphacteria*¹ (now Sphagia), an island near Messenia, which protected the harbour of the Messenian *Pylus* (Navarino), is celebrated for the defeat of the Spartans, by the Athenians² (p. 223).

Elis is a strip of land, along the western coast of the Peloponnesus, bounded by Achaia, Arcadia, and Messenia. Anciently it was divided into *Elis Proper* or the valley of Elis,³ in the north; *Pisatis* or *Pisæa*, the vale of the Alpheus; and *Triphylia* in the south.⁴

At an early period it was governed by several kings; but it was afterwards taken possession of by the Ætolians; and Iphitus, one of its sovereigns, acquired great celebrity by his renewal of the Olympic Games, (B. C. 884). From this period all Elis was considered as consecrated land; its inhabitants enjoyed sacerdotal privileges, and seldom or ever bore arms.⁵ Even the soldiers of other Greek states, in early times, laid down their arms, when passing through it.⁶

Olympia, on the right bank of the Alpheus,⁷ was the most celebrated place in this country—being consecrated for the Olympic games. Here, on the banks of the Alpheus, stood the sacred grove, called *Altis*, of olive and plane trees, surrounded by an inclosure; a sanctuary of the arts,

¹ Σφακτηρία, Σφαγία.

² Pindar (Od. iii.) who calls Nestor king of Messenia, gives preference to this Pylos, as his birth-place.—See also Strabo 14. p. 938. There were two or three cities, bearing the name of Pylus in Elis.

³ Ἡ κοίλη Ἠλίδος.

⁴ Thus in the divisions of Elis, we have the Pylus Ἠλειᾶκος—and in that of Triphylia, ὁ Πύλος Τριφυλιακός.

⁵ If the territory of the Eleans really continued almost inviolate, till the time of Epaminondas, this must be ascribed to the vicinity of the peaceful Achæans, and the Arcadians, who were either powerless, or disinclined to conquest; and perhaps also to the declaration of Sparta, during her hegemony, that by means of the protection of Elis, Messenia was secured towards the north.—Wachsmuth. vol. i. p. 162.

⁶ Strabo, p. 357.

⁷ Ἀλφειὸς.

such as the world has never yet beheld. The whole forest was filled with monuments, and statues, erected in honour of gods, heroes and conquerors.¹ Tradition ascribes the first institution of this national festival of the Greeks to Hercules. These games were renewed first by Iphitus (884 B. C.) then by Choroëbus, (776 B. C.) and from that period suffered no interruption. They were celebrated every fifth year,² in July, and continued for the space of five days; the last of which fell always upon the full moon, after the summer solstice.

The Olympic games comprised, chariot, horse, and foot races, leaping, throwing the discus, or quoit, wrestling and boxing; these five exercises were termed *Pentathlon*.³ They were concluded with musical and poetical contests. No females were allowed to be present, except the priestesses of Ceres; and, on the other hand, Greeks only—who had not compromised their honour by any disgraceful action, and had been born in legitimate wedlock—were permitted to contend for the prize. The greatest poets celebrated the praises of the victors; and, we have now extant forty-five

¹ Heeren.

² From *Pisa*, a town of Elis, the year in which the games were celebrated was often called *Pisæus annus*, and the victory obtained there, *Pisææ ramus olivæ*, in reference to the olive crown.

³ From *πέντε* five, and *ἀθλον* (hence *athletic*) a contest. They were also called *ludi gymnici*, because the combatants were usually trained naked (*γυμνοί*).—See *Roman Antiq.* p. 56. During training, they were restricted to a particular regimen,—

Multa tulit fecitque puer, sudavit et alsit.—*Hor. Art.* l. 413.

As these games were consecrated by religion (*ιεροὶ ἀγώνες*), the victors were called *Hieronica*; and, as they entered their native cities through a breach made in the wall for that purpose, the games were termed, *Iselastica certamina* (from *εἰσελαύνω*—*invehor*). Lucian speaks of a victor at the Olympic games (*Olympionices*), as equal to a god (*ισόθεος*); and Cicero compares the honour to a triumph at Rome.—*Palma nobilis Terrarum dominosevehit ad Deos.*—*Hor. i. Od. i. 5, 6.* The judges of the combats were called, *Hellenodica* (*Ἑλλήνων δίκη*) or *Agonothêtæ* (*ἀγών, ῥιθμη*); and as the Elæans determined the prizes, hence *Elea palma*, *Eleus carcer*—*Eliades equæ* (mares fit to run at the Olympic). *Hic vel ad Elei metas, et maxima campi sudabit spatia*—(*Virg. G. iii. 202.*) shall run in the *stadium* or course at Olympia.—On *Spatia*, see *Rom. Antiq.* p. 54. N.^c

hymns of this character, written by Pindar, who was born at Thebes, and surpassed all others in this style of composition (*lyric*). Since the Olympiad was used by the Greeks, as a mode of computing time, it may be necessary to state, that it consisted of four full years;¹ and that the computation began from the year 776, when the games were renewed by Chorcæbus. The number of the Olympiads was at first distinguished only by the names of the victors; but this was afterwards improved, by superadding to it, at Athens, the name of the Archon, termed *Epōnynus*—at Sparta those of the Ephori—at Argos those of the priestesses of Juno.²

The most important building in Olympia was a temple of Jupiter (*Zeus Olympios*), adorned with a gold and ivory statue³ of the god, sixty feet in height—the master-work of Phidias. At the games, the *stadium* was made use of for the contests in running, wrestling, &c.; the *hippodromus*,⁴ for the horse and chariot races; the theatre for the musical contests; and the *Prytaneum* was the place of assembly for the judges. Elis, the capital of the country, was situated on the Peneus—and its harbour was *Cyllene*.

¹ Διὰ πέμπτου ἔτους—according to the Greek mode of expression.

² This was of importance to chronology, in a synchronistic point of view. "With few exceptions, the Greek writers may be pronounced extremely careless in matters of Chronology. Herodotus, the father of profane history, commonly reckons by the ages of men. The accurate histories of Thucydides (*Peloponnesian War*), and Xenophon (*Hellenica*), where the time of each event is precisely ascertained, comprehend no more than a period of seventy years."—*Gillies*.

³ *Chryselephantina*.

⁴ Ἴππος and δρέμω, *curro*.—The starting place was termed, *Carceres* or *Carcer*, (ἄφεις, βαλεις vel γραμμὴ—because anciently marked by a white line)—the goal *Meta* (τέλος, τέρμα vel γραμμὴ, *linea*, whence—*mors ultima linea rerum est*).—Hor. Ep. i. 16, 79).

CHAPTER III.

PELOPONNESUS.

Achaia, Achæan League—Sicyon—Corinth, Argolis, Ægina, Arcadia.

ACHAIA (also *Achais-idis*), or the northern coast of the Peloponnesus, is bounded by Elis, Arcadia, Argolis, and the sea which here forms the deep gulf of Corinth. The extension of Mount Cyllene to the west, reduces Achaia to a small coast-district; hence the rivers of the country are mere torrents. At an early period this country was called *Aigialeia*, or the "coast," and was inhabited by a Pelasgic tribe. The Ionians, who afterwards occupied it, were obliged, at the return of the Heraclidæ, to give way to the Achæans (p. 115), who were driven out of Argos and Laconia,¹ and who gave their name to the district (*Achaia*). The Achæans were reigned over for a long period by the posterity of Orestes, until the government became democratic, and Achaia was divided into twelve small states, forming the *Achæan confederacy*. Internal distractions did not harass the Achæans till after the Persian wars; yet they were early united for the purpose of energetic action.

The Achæans, on account of their hatred to the Spartans, took no share in the common wars of the Greeks, not even in the Persian wars. They never aspired after aggrandisement or influence abroad; they were not made illustrious by great generals or great poets; but they possessed good laws. In the last days of Grecian freedom, the union of the Achæan cities, which was joined by most of the Greek states in and out of the Peloponnesus, formed the famous *Achæan league* (p. 412)—with whose overthrow Greece ceased to be independent, and, as a Roman province, re-

¹ At a very early period the Achæans were predominant in the south of Thessaly, and on the eastern coast of the Peloponnesus.

ceived the name of Achaia.¹ Amongst the cities of Achaia Proper, only *Dyme* and *Patræ* (now Patrasso or Patras) deserve to be mentioned. The ancient capital, *Helice*, was destroyed by an earthquake (373 B.C.); the harbour of *Panormus* lay between the promontories of Drepanum and Rhium. Near *Ægium* was *Homaggyrium*,² where Agamemnon assembled the Grecian chiefs to consult about the Trojan expedition.

Under Achaia, it has been usual to reckon two other smaller free states:—

a. *Sicyon*, betwixt Achaia Proper and Corinth, one of the most important cities in the Peloponnesus, and celebrated for its painters and sculptors. It was the birth-place of Aratus, who was chosengeneral of the Achæan league (p. 413).

b. *Corinth* (anciently called *Ephyra* or *e³*), with a capital of the same name, was situated on the Isthmus⁴ which connects the Peloponnesus with the main-land, and was at an early period⁵ one of the wealthiest and most magnificent cities of Greece. It had two harbours on the Saronic Gulf—*Cenchrææ*⁶ and *Schænus*; and the harbour of *Lechæon*⁷ (*Lecheæ*), on the Corinthian, connected with the city by walls. On the eastern side, Corinth was washed by the *Saronicus sinus*, or Gulf of Enghia, and on the western by the *Corinthiacus sinus*, or Gulf of Lepanto.⁸ In consequence

¹ The province of Achaia contained the *Peloponnesus* and *Hellas Proper*; the province of Macedonia contained Macedonia, Thessaly, and Epirus.

² Ὀμοῦ and ἀγέτω.

³ So Dyracchium is called *Ephyræa Mænia* (Luc. 6, 17), because founded by a colony from Corinth.

⁴ It was built on an eminence, *applicata colli habitatur colonia Corinthus*. The Isthmus, where narrowest, is only forty stadia over, or five miles. Statius (*Theb.* vii. 15) calls it *Isthmus umbo* (in allusion to the boss of a shield), because it was the bulwark of the Peloponnesus. In the citadel (*Acrocorinthus*) was a large fountain called *Pirene*; hence *Pirenis unda*, *Ephyre Pirēnis*. *Non cuivis homini contingit adire CORINTHUM* (*Hor. Ep.* i. 17. 36) is a proverbial allusion to the expensive gaieties of Corinth.

⁵ *Thuc.* i. 13.

⁶ Κεγχρεῖαι, Κεγχρεαι, with a temple, marble statue of Venus, and a brazen statue of Neptune in the harbour.

⁷ Λέχαιον.

⁸ Hence Horace speaks of the *bimaris Corinthi Mænia*.—*Od.* i. 7.

of the peril in attempting to double Cape Malea at the southern extremity of the Peloponnesus, Corinth became the principal depôt of trade—the ships being hauled over the Isthmus, or “draughtway.”¹

The arts of painting and sculpture, more especially that of bronze, attained to the highest perfection at Corinth; and Corinthian vases, ransacked from the sepulchres, were sold in Rome at enormous prices.² The *Corinthian order* and style of architecture attests the degree of perfection to which this art was cultivated in Corinth. The Corinthian brass (*æs Corinthium*), which was so highly prized among the ancients and was fabricated into vases and other works of art, consisted probably of a mixture of gold, silver, and copper. It was an invention of Corinthian artisans, and not formed, as has been generally supposed, from an accidental fusion of different metals at the burning of the city by the consul Mummius (146 B. C.)³, p. 421.

Corinth, more inclined to the cultivation of commerce than science, reached a considerable elevation, and took a decisive part in the Peloponnesian war. The powerful Syracuse, in Sicily, belonged to the list of its colonies. The oldest sea-fight of which we know was fought between Corinth and its colony, Corcyra, in the year 664 B. C. When the city was burnt, the treasures of art, which escaped the ravages of the flames, were conveyed to Rome. Though Julius Cæsar permitted it to be rebuilt, yet it never regained its ancient splendour. The Isthmian games were introduced by Sisyphus (1326 B. C.). They were celebrated in a pine-grove near the temple of Neptune, and the victors were crowned with pine-branches. The narrowness of the Corinthian Isthmus suggested the idea of uniting the two seas by means of a canal; but the project, though enter-

¹ Διολεος.

² Strab. viii. p. 381.

³ Klaproth thinks that this metallic mixture, though of a superior quality, resembled *Aurichalcum*, which was composed of either copper and zinc, or of copper, tin, and lead—the mixture, by means of calamine, being rendered tough and malleable.

tained successively by Demetrius Poliorcetes, Cæsar, and Nero, was never carried into execution. The presumptuous interference of man drew down the displeasure of the gods; and to this circumstance, and not to its difficulty, the ancients ascribed the failure of the project.

*Argolis*¹ consists in a great measure of a peninsula, or tongue of land, stretching to the south-east, and is bounded by Achaia, Arcadia, Laconia, and the sea. At the period of the Trojan war, we find that the Achæans had established here the most powerful kingdom in Greece—the kingdom of the Pelopidæ (Agamemnon and Menelaus), including Achaia and Laconia (p. 111). The democratic form of government was introduced 964 B. C. But the glory of its early history does not appear to have animated Argos. No Themistocles, no Agesilaus, was ever counted among its citizens; and though it possessed a territory of considerable extent, it never assumed a rank among the first of the Grecian states, but was rather the passive object of foreign policy.² In the north, *Argos* acquired a complete ascendancy; and in the south, *Epidauros* and *Træzen* preserved their independence.

The most important places in Argolis are:—a. *Argos* (Argi, -orum), the oldest city in Greece, on the river Inachus, with an elevated fortress (*Larissa*³). At the time of the Trojan war, it was the residence of Diomed; and having inherited the *hegemony*⁴ of Agamemnon, it asserted its preeminence,⁵ as the most powerful city of Argolis, till the overthrow of Grecian freedom. Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, met with his death at the storming of this city (p. 411). Argos was celebrated for its breed of horses.⁶ *Nauplia*,⁷ now Napoli

¹ Ἀργία. ² Heeren Polit. ³ Larissæus apex.—Stat. Theb. i. 38.

⁴ The term ἡγεμονία can only be faintly rendered by "supremacy" and "preeminence;" its precise meaning will be best gathered from the subsequent history.

⁵ Herodotus asserts its early preeminence over all the cities of Greece, i. 1.

⁶ *Argos Hippium*, Ἀργὸς Ἱππόδαρον. As it was the favourite city of Juno, she is represented as fighting at Troy, pro caris—*Argis*. Virg. Æn. i. 24.

⁷ Ναῦς, *navis*; and πλῆω, *impleo*.

di Romania, was the harbour of Argolis. b. *Mycēnæ*,¹ at an inconsiderable distance from Argos, founded by Perseus, and once the residence of Agamemnon,² who was murdered here by his wife Clytæmnestra (p. 114). c. Betwixt these two cities lay the celebrated *Heræon*, or temple of Juno (*Hēre*); hence we read of the *Argive Juno*. d. *Tyrius*, a very ancient city, and the birth-place of Hercules,³ was destroyed in the Peloponnesian war. e. Near *Epidaurus* was situated the celebrated temple of Æsculapius, much visited by the sick.⁴ f. *Nemēa*⁵ is the name of a district in which Hercules killed a lion, and games in honour of the Nemean Jupiter were celebrated. g. Near *Lerna*, on the Lernæan Lake, Hercules killed the famous many-headed serpent, whose heads grew again as fast as they were cut off; and in the neighbourhood was a temple of Ceres, in which mysteries were celebrated.

Amongst the islands near Argolis, our attention is frequently directed to *Ægina*, in the Saronic Gulf, with a celebrated temple of *Zeus Panhellenius*, and once powerful by its shipping (p. 156) and commerce, and distinguished by its love of the plastic art. The *Æginetæ* contributed very much towards gaining the victory over the Persians, in the sea-fight off Salamis (p. 171); and they are said to have been the first people who coined money. They carried on a nicely balanced contest with Athens, until the Athenians plundered and laid waste the island in the first year of the Peloponnesian war (p. 214). In more recent times, seventeen statues, now at Munich, have been dug out of its ruins. On the little island of *Calauria*, sacred to Latona,⁶ opposite the harbour of Trœzen, was situated a highly venerated temple of Neptune, in which Demosthenes, when persecuted by the Macedonians, poisoned himself (p. 392).

¹ Αἱ Μυκῆναι, Μυκῆνη.

² Aptum equis Argos ditiesque Mycenæ.—*Hor.* i. *Od.* vii. 9.

³ Hence called *Tyrinthius heros*, and his arrows *Tyrinthia Tela*.

⁴ Hence he is called *Epidaurius*.—*Ov. Pont.* i. 3, 21.

⁵ Νεμῆα.

⁶ Calauriæ Latoidos arva.—*Ov. Met.* 7, 384.

Arcadia was surrounded by the five states already mentioned, and occupied the centre of the Peloponnesus. It was a wild mountainous¹ district, and bore very little resemblance to the *Arcadia* that has been dreamed of in pastoral poetry. It is chiefly the western part of *Arcadia*, where Pan invented the shepherd's flute, which deserves the name of a pastoral country. Innumerable brooks, one more delightful than the other, sometimes rushing impetuously, and sometimes gently murmuring, pour down the mountains. Vegetation is rich and magnificent; every where freshness and coolness are found. One flock of sheep succeeds another, till the banks of the wild *Taygetus* are approached, where numerous herds of goats are also seen.²

As the inhabitants, chiefly *Pelagic*, remained unmixed with other tribes, and unconquered, they claimed to themselves a high antiquity, assuming the title of *Proseleni* (older than the moon);³ but in the cultivation of intellect and science, they were much inferior to the other Grecian states. *Arcadia* has been compared to Switzerland in appearance; and the similarity is equally striking in the love of freedom and the mercenary character of their respective inhabitants, who sought in foreign warfare the means of existence, and a field for the exercise of their strength.⁴ In later times, the *Arcadians*, according to their countryman Polybius, enjoyed a high reputation among the Greeks for hospitality, kindness, and piety; but he ascribes those qualities to the success of their social institutions, in counteracting the natural tendency of a rugged climate, which, while it inured them to toil and hardship, disposed their character to an excess of harshness.⁵

Amongst the many celebrated mountains, rivers, and springs, we may mention Mount *Mænalus*, the favourite abode

¹ It was anciently called *Drymodes* (*Δρυμόδης*), from its woody mountains, and *Pelagia*, from its inhabitants.

² Hence Pindar styles *Arcadia* *εὔμηλος*.—*Od.* vi. 169. *Heeren*.

³ *Πρὸ, σελήνη*.

⁴ Such was the object of those who came to Xerxes.—*Herod.* viii. 26.

⁵ *Thirlwall, Greece*, vol. i. p. 21.

of the shepherd-god Pan, who was especially worshipped in Arcadia—the *Lycæon*, adorned with numerous temples and statues, and *Cyllene*, the highest range in the Peloponnesus, and the pretended birth-place of Mercury (*Hermes*); hence *Cyllenius* (*Cyllenia proles*) is used as an epithet of the god, and *Cyllenia testudo*, the lyre invented by Mercury. *Parrhasius*, a mountain frequented by Calisto.¹ The *Styx* was a small brook, whose water, being probably impregnated with iron or copper, was considered fatal; and hence it was held to be one of the rivers of the lower world, and an oath by the *Styx* was inviolable, even to the gods. The river and lake of *Stymphalus* was celebrated on account of Hercules having destroyed the noxious birds of prey that infested this region.²

The most celebrated cities of Arcadia, in more ancient times, were *Mantinêa*,³ where Epaminondas defeated the Spartans a second time, but purchased the victory with his life (p. 315)—and *Tegêa*,⁴ where the gigantic bones of Orestes were found buried, and removed to Sparta.⁵ After the battle of Leuctra, the Arcadians determined to collect the inhabitants of many smaller places into one great city, *Megalopolis*⁶ near Helisson,⁷ as a measure of security against the Spartans (p. 309). This city was the birth-place of the general Philopœmen, and the historian Polybius. The states of MANTINEA and TEGEA, and a third of less importance, that of *Orchomenus*, maintained themselves beside each other with an equal balance of power.⁸ The Tegeans

¹ Hence she is termed *Parrhasis-idis*, and the constellation of *Ursa Major*, into which she was changed, *Parrhasis Arctos* (*Ov. Trist.* i. 3. 46)—*Parrhasiæ pennæ*, the winged sandals of Mercury.—*Lucan*, ix. 660. ² *Stymphalides*, *Stymphalia Monstra*.—*Cat.* 66, 113.

³ *Μαντινεία*.

⁴ *Τέγαια*.

⁵ Pan is also called *Tegeæus* (*Virg. G. i.* 18), and *Lycæus* (from *Lycæon* supra).—*Æn.* viii. 344.

⁶ *Μεγάλη πόλις*, *magna urbs*.

⁷ *Ἐλισσων*.

⁸ *Wacksmuth*, vol. i. p. 149. It is a remarkable fact that, in Mantinea, the mass of the people had a share in the council, but the magistracy were chosen by select citizens (*Aristot. Pol.* 6. 2. 2). *Ibid.* p. 269.

carried on a well-fought conflict with Sparta until the latter offered them its friendship; but Mantinea adhered to Argos.

CHAPTER IV.

HELLAS PROPER AND THESSALY.

Attica—Topography of Athens, Eleusis.

HELLAS embraces the nine following smaller independent states, namely, Attica, Megaris, Bœotia, Phocis, Doris, Locris, Ætolia, Acarnania, and Thessaly. Hellas was originally only a city in Thessaly (Phthiotis); from the time of Homer it included all the countries lying south of Thessaly and Epirus, as far as the Isthmus;¹ and from the time of Philip, the northern countries were included where the Greek language was spoken, or Greek civilization was established by means of colonies. Here we understand it as extending from the Ambracian Gulf to the promontory of Sunium. Northward of the gulf the irruption of barbarous hordes had stifled the germs of the Greek character in the ancient inhabitants of Epirus, and had transformed it into a foreign land; and it must have been rather the recollection of its ancient fame, as the primitive abode of the Hellenes, than the condition of its tribes after the Persian war, that induced Herodotus to speak of *Thesprotia* as part of Hellas.²

Attica³ was bounded to the North by Bœotia, to the

¹ See p. 100, and notes.

² Herod. ii. 56. *Thirlwall, Hist.* vol. i. p. 3.

³ Attica is frequently divided into three portions, namely, τὸ πεδιον, the plain; Διακρίς, whose inhabitants were termed Διακρεῖς, or Διάκριοι; and the southern portion, from the promontory of Zoster to the promontory of Sunium, termed Παράλος γῆ, or Πα-

south by Megaris, washed on the east by the Ægean sea, and on the west by the Saronic Gulf. It forms a mountainous peninsula, terminating to the south in the promontory of *Sunium*, now Cape Colonna; and, from its position, it was well calculated to attract the commerce of Asia. The more ancient name, *Akte*, or *Actæa*, directs us to the true meaning of the appellation, namely, the *land on the coast*.¹ Attica, though poor of soil² and sparingly watered, was celebrated for its olives, figs, and honey; and the mildness of the climate allowed all the more valuable products of the earth to ripen the earliest, and go out of season the latest. Traces are still visible of the laborious cultivation which was carried on by means of artificial terraces up the sides of the barest mountains.³ The mountain of *Pentelicus* was celebrated for its excellent marble; *Hymettus* for its honey;⁴ and *Laurium*⁵ for its silver mines. No mountain in Greece offers a more beautiful prospect of the dark blue sea than Hymettus—the view towards the east extending as far as the isle of Chios. The Attic mariner as he sailed round Sunium could discern the spear and crest of Minerva in front of her temple on the Acropolis.

Athens,⁶ the capital of Attica, and the most celebrated city of Greece, lay at the distance of nearly two hours' journey from the Saronic Gulf. The citadel *Acropolis*, or

ραλία, in opposition to *Πεδιον* (*Thucyd.* ii. 55). Thus in the time of Solon we read of three factions, *Diacriai*, *Pediai*, and *Parai*, deriving their names from the districts which they severally inhabited (p. 138).

¹ Ἡ ἀκτικὴ.

² Λεπτόγεωγ.—*Thuc.* i. 2.

³ *Dodwell*, vol. i. pp. 505, 509.

⁴ So Horace speaks of a little favourite corner of the earth where the honey is not inferior to Hymettian—ubi non Hymetto mella decedunt.—ii. *Od.* vi. 14, 15. Hymettus also produced marble, *Trabes Hymettie* (Hor. ii. 18, 3). Some interpret *Trabes* beams of wood, but Pliny also has *trabes ex marmore* (36, 8. § 14).

⁵ Τὸ Λαύριον, Λαύρειον.

⁶ *Athenæ*, from Ἀθηνά, *Minerva*. There were many other cities of the same name in Greece. Eight are enumerated by Steph. Byz. s. v; hence the *Athenæ Atticæ* of the Roman writers.

Cecropia (*Cecropia puella*, Minerva), as it was sometimes named, was built on a rock in the centre.¹ The walls of the city were washed by the river *Ilissus* on the southern side, and *Cephissus* on the western—their waters clear as crystal. Two, or according to others, three *long walls*² were built upon the recommendation of Themistocles, in order to connect the three harbours of *Piræus*, *Munychia*, and *Phalæron*,³ with the city (p. 183). The circumference of these massive fortifications extended to not less than 174 stadia. Ancient writers inform us that Athens was nearly equal in extent to Rome within the walls of Servius; and Plutarch compares it in point of size to Syracuse, which Strabo estimates at 180 stadia, or upwards of twenty-two miles in circumference. The entire circumference, including the longimural inclosure, and the defences of the ports, could not have been less than nineteen miles; and Xenophon informs us that the city contained 10,000 houses.

According to a census taken 445 B. C. Attica contained 14,040 free citizens, about 70,000 free inhabitants, above 10,000 resident foreigners,⁴ and about 400,000 freemen and slaves. If 180,000 persons are reckoned for the city and harbours, and 20,000 for the district of the mines, which must have been thickly peopled, and the space for both be taken at thirty-two square miles English, then there remain 300,000 souls for the remaining 608 square miles, which, considering the number of small towns, villages,

¹ This higher part of the city was termed *ἡ ἄνω πόλις*, in opposition to the lower, *ἡ κάτω πόλις*. Athens, by way of eminence, was termed *πόλις*, or *ἄστυ*, the city.

² *Μακρὰ τεῖχη*. "The Peiraic or northern wall (*βορείων τεῖχος*) measured forty stadia; the southern thirty-five in length. From an expression of Plato quoted by Harpocration (*διαμέσου τεῖχος*), it has been supposed that there was a third or intermediate wall; but the phrase refers solely to the whole of the fortress situated between Athens and the maritime city." These walls Strabo calls *σκέλη*, *crura*, 9, 395, and Propertius *brachia*; hence, "Scandam ego Theseæ *brachia* longa viæ" (3, 20, 24), "I will go from the Piræus to Athens." The whole line of road was ornamented with monuments of every description.

³ *Φαληρός*.

⁴ *Μέτοικοι*.

market-places, and farms that were in Attica, is not to be wondered at.¹

The streets of Athens were, for the most part, narrow and crooked; and the houses were remarkable only for their smallness and simplicity. The taste, the elegance of the Athenians, exhibited themselves only in their public buildings, in their temples, theatres, and porticoes, &c. Having been furnished by the prudent foresight and energetic conduct of Themistocles with the military works requisite for its defence, Athens attained, under the subsequent administrations of Cimon and Pericles, to the highest pitch of beauty, magnificence, and strength. The former is known to have erected the temple of Theseus, the Dionysiac theatre, the Stoæ, and Gymnasium, and also to have embellished the academy, the Agora, and other parts of the city at his own expense.² Pericles completed the fortifications which had been left in an unfinished state by Themistocles and Cimon. He likewise rebuilt several edifices destroyed by the Persians, and to him his country was indebted for the temple of Eleusis, the Parthenon, and the Propylæa, the most magnificent buildings not of Athens only, but the world³ (p. 200).

The most splendid works of architecture were crowded together on the Acropolis, exhibiting an amazing concentration of all that was most perfect in art. It appeared practicable to the artists of Pericles to fill up the entrance on the western side with a single building, which, in serving the main purpose of a *gate way*, should at the same time adorn as well as fortify the citadel. Of the space which formed the natural entrance, fifty-eight feet were left for the great artificial entrance, and the remainder on either side was closed by wings projecting thirty-two feet in front of the grand central colonnade. The entire building received the name of *Propylæa*,⁴ from its forming the vestibule to

¹ Compare Böckh's *Public Economy*, vol. 1.

² *Plut. Cim.*

³ *Cramer's Greece.*

⁴ Πύλῳ and πύλη, a gate.

the five gates or doors still in existence, by which the citadel was entered. The left wing was decorated with paintings by Polygnotus, representing a series of events connected with the siege of Troy. This incomparable edifice was constructed entirely of Pentelic marble,¹ and ornamented throughout with equestrian statues.

The *Parthēnon*, or temple of the virgin goddess,² was placed upon the highest platform of the Acropolis. It was adorned with every species of sculpture which was most in esteem among the Greeks. The frieze on the outside of the cell and vestibule, represented the procession to the Parthenon on the grand quinquennial festival of the Panathenæa. The statue of the virgin goddess, the master-work of Phidias,³ stood in the eastern chamber of the cell, and consisted of ivory and gold. The figure of the goddess was represented in an erect martial attitude. On the summit of her helmet was placed a sphinx, with griffins on either side; and on her breast was the head of Medusa. The goddess held a spear in her hand, while an ægis lay at her feet, on which was sculptured the *gigantomachia*, or the battle of the giants, and the battle of the Amazons. The battle of the Centaurs and Lapithæ was carved on her sandals; and on the pedestal was sculptured the birth of Pandora. The gold, with which the statue of the goddess was encrusted, might be removed at pleasure. The statue of *Jupiter Polieus* stood between the Propylæa and Parthenon, and the brazen colossus of Minerva (*Minerva Promachus*) erected

¹ Works executed in Pentelic marble have not been so durable as those executed in Parian. The reason is, the Parian marble is perfectly homogeneous, whilst the Pentelic was intersected by various earthy strata, which accelerated its decomposition. "The Italians term the Pentelic marble *Marmo Salino*, from the resemblance of its component particles to salt; the Parian was preferred by artists, as yielding more easily to the graver; and, from the homogeneousness of its parts, less apt to sparkle and give false lights to the statue."—*Gillies*.

² Ἰαθόθνος, *intacta Minerva*.

³ The greatest sculptor of antiquity, *Phidīdum vixebat ebur*.—*Juv.* viii. 103.

from the tenth of the spoils of Marathon, appears to have stood between the temple of Erechtheus and the Propylæa. Ictinus was the architect of the Parthenon, while Phidias had the control of the whole sculptural decorations. The public treasury was in the *back part* of this building, hence called *Opisthodomus*.¹

There are but few ruins remaining of the buildings in other parts of the city. Amongst these we would mention the *Tower of the Winds*, an octagonal building, adorned with bas-reliefs. To the west, over against the Acropolis, lay the hill of *Areopagus*,² where we still observe traces of the seats of the judges (*Areopagitæ*), hewn out in the rocks; and still farther west, on another hill, the *Pnyx*, where the popular assemblies were held. Here the spot from which Pericles and Demosthenes harangued, is still distinct; it is imperishable, since it is hewn in the rock.³ North of the Areopagus lay the ruins of the ancient temple of *Theseus*, equalled in sanctity only by the Parthenon, and enjoying the privileges of a sanctuary (p. 140). At the south-east angle of the citadel was situated the *theatre of Bacchus*, in which tragedies and comedies were represented, and capable, according to Plato, of accommodating 30,000 spectators. It contained statues of all the great tragic and comic poets; the most conspicuous of which were naturally those of Æschylus, Euripides, and Sophocles, among the former, and that of Menander among the latter.

Near the south-eastern extremity of the city, ruins still mark out the site of the greatest temple of Athens, the temple of the Olympian Jupiter. The outer *Ceramîcus*⁴ was covered with the sepulchres of the Athenians who had been slain in battle, and buried at the public expense, with

¹ Ὀπισθεν, δέμῳ, στῦο.

² Ἀρῆς, Mars, and πάγος, a hill (Ἀρειος πάγος). *Curia Martis*.—*Juv.* 9, 101. *Areum Judicium*.—*Tac. Ann.* ii. 55.

³ *Heeren*. The *Bema* faced the Piræus—reminding the Athenians of their obligations to commerce.

⁴ Κεραμεικός, so called from the earthenware manufactured there.

the exception of those who fell at Marathon, who were interred on the spot where they had died so gloriously (p. 154). The paintings of the portico called *Pæcile*, were almost exclusively devoted to the representation of national subjects, as the contest of Theseus with the Amazons, the battle of Marathon, and other achievements of the Athenians. At the extremity of the Ceramicus we meet with the *Academîa*, or garden where Plato taught, as Aristotle did in the *Lyceum*. Hence his disciples were called *Academics*, and his philosophy the *Academic*. "The disciples of Aristotle obtained the appellation of *Peripatetics*; but the practice of teaching in walking was not peculiar to Aristotle."¹ We are told that 2,000 pupils attended the lectures of Theophrastus, the successor of Aristotle; and when we consider that there were many other schools of philosophy, and that the "philosophical classes" were not the most numerous, we may conceive how high Athens stood as a city for education.² The *Cynosarges*, a gymnasium, was the school of Antisthenes the Cynic.³

Among the remaining cities, or rather hamlets,⁴ and places in Attica, we may notice:—a. *Eleusis*, which lay north-west of Athens, and contained beautiful temples of Ceres (*Cerealis Eleusin-is*) and Proserpine,⁵ in which the

¹ *Diog. Laert.* 3, 11. Indeed, the term *περιπατῶν* was applied to "discussion" before the time of Aristotle. Aristophanes uses it humorously (*Ran.* 940, 951) in this sense. The custom appears to have been, for hearers to sit at the lectures of the philosophers. Cleon, in *Thuc.* iii. 38, compares the assembly to persons sitting "spectators of sophists."—*Hampden*.

² Hence Athens is termed *vacuæ*, as devoted to literary repose.—*Hor. Ep.* ii. 2, 81, and *Inventrices omnium doctrinarum*.—*Cic. Orat.* i. 4, as being the focus of all scientific speculation and discovery.

³ Greeks, Romans, and barbarians, have plundered and desolated this glorious city. Many works of art were carried off to Rome and Byzantium; the French have excavated many from the ruins, whilst the "Elgin marbles," brought over to this country, bespeak the industry of the British. The Parthenon has been converted by the Turks into a powder-magazine.

⁴ *Δῆμοι*.

⁵ As Ceres is called *Eleusinia Mater*, her daughter Proserpine is termed *Kόρη, puella*.

great Eleusinian mysteries were annually celebrated for nine successive days.¹ As little as we are acquainted with the nature of these mysteries, yet we perceive that the symbols indicated the *fructifying power of the earth*, and that the solemnities had reference to agriculture, mining, and the cultivation of the vine.²

b. *Marathon*, a small town north of Athens, near which Miltiades defeated the Persians under Datis and Artaphernes (p. 152):—c. North of Marathon stood the village of *Rhamnus*, near which was a temple of Nemesis, the avenger of insolence³:—d. On the promontory of *Sunium*, the maritime boundary between the Ægean and Myrtoan seas, stood a temple of Minerva, of which there are still fourteen pillars remaining; whence has been derived its present name, *C. Colonna* (*columna*, a pillar):—e. *Phyle* is situated on the Bœotian boundary; from this point Thrasybulus commenced his attack against the thirty tyrants (p. 272). Among the islands near Attica, we must not forget to mention *Salamis*,⁴ opposite the city of Eleusis—since betwixt this island and the Attic coast, the immense fleet of Xerxes was annihilated by the Greeks (p. 170). “Neptune,” says Cicero,⁵ “will

¹ *Lobeck* in his *Aglaophamus*, § 2, contradicts the idea that secret doctrines were connected with these mysteries; for all Greeks, even women, and probably also slaves, were admitted. Perhaps murderers and barbarians only were excluded; not merely on account of the peculiar hatred between the Greeks and barbarians, but also because the barbarians did not worship the Greek gods; and the worship of the same gods was the strongest bond of Hellenic nationality.

² We are left in a great measure to conjecture about the doctrines veiled in these mysteries; as *Herodotus* exhibits a timid reserve on the subject (ii. 51), we miss very much a tragedy of that lofty and profound Greek poet, *Æschylus*, entitled the *Cabiri*.—*Kriebel*.

³ Hence *Lucan* speaks of *Rhamnus* worshipping *tumidis infesta—Numina*, i. e. *Nemesis* (5, 233); and she is styled “*Rhamnusia*,” by the poets.

⁴ When, after the taking of Troy, *Telamon* refused to admit his son *Teucer*, because he had not avenged the death of his brother *Ajax*, *Teucer* sailed away with his companions, and built another city of the same name in Cyprus, which *Horace* calls *Salamis Ambigua* (*Od.* i. 7, 29), as hardly to be distinguished from the old *Salamis*, which is called *Vera*.—*Lucan*, 3, 83.

⁵ Ante *Salaminem ipsam Neptunus obruet, quam Salaminii tropæi memoriam*.—*Cic. Tusc. Quæst.* 1. 46.

sooner overwhelm Salamis itself, than efface the memory of that glorious victory."

CHAPTER V.

HELLAS PROPER AND THESSALY.

Megaris—Bœotia—Phocis, Delphi.

MEGARIS was a small mountainous district, surrounded by Attica, Bœotia, Corinth, the Saronic Gulf, and the Hælyonian Sea. On the return of the Heraclidæ, the Dorians expelled the Aborigines;¹ and, though they lived in a permanent state of jealousy with respect to their neighbours—the Athenians—yet still they maintained their independence. The only place of any importance was *Megara*, connected with its harbour *Nysæa*, by walls eight leagues in length. Megara was the birth-place of the founder of the Megaric or polemic school of philosophy, Euclid, who must not be confounded with the celebrated mathematician of that name.

Bœotia, bounded to the south by Attica, to the east by the Straits of Eubœa, to the north by Locris, to the west by Phocis—was somewhat less mountainous, and consequently more fertile than Attica. The atmosphere of the lower and swampy districts was thick and foggy; and this was supposed to exert an unfavourable influence upon the intellectual capacities of the Bœotians. Others, however, ascribe this depression of the intellectual and moral energy to the profusion with which the ordinary gifts of nature were spread over the face of Bœotia, rendering exertion

¹ Megara was anciently inhabited by the *Leleges*; *Lelegeia littora*, the coast of Megara (*Ov. Met.* 8, 6). In this district were the Scyronian rocks, so called from one *Scyron*, a noted robber; "infames Scyronæ petræ."—*Stat. Theb.* i. 333.

almost unnecessary, and sensual indulgence almost inevitable.¹ Amongst the most celebrated mountains of Bœotia, we may mention *Helicon* on the borders of Phocis, as the seat of the muses;² and *Cithæron*, on the confines of Attica, dedicated to the service of Bacchus.³ "It was celebrated for the metamorphosis of Actæon, the death of Pentheus, and the exposure of Œdipus."

Bœotia was watered by many rivers, streams, and lakes. The important lake of *Copais*, celebrated for its eels (p. 227), was situated in the centre of the country, and south of it the much smaller *Hylice*. The most familiar rivers are the *Cephissus*, now Mauropotamo, which discharges itself into the lake of Copais. The most celebrated fountains of Bœotia are *Hippocrene*⁴ and *Aganippe*, sacred to the muses, and rising in Mount Helicon; *Lethe* (Oblivion); *Dirce*, at Thebes,⁵ whence Pindar is called⁶ the Dircean swan; and *Mnemosyne* (remembrance), near the cave of Trophonius. Two fountains spring from Mount Libethrius, whose water is compared by Pausanias to milk⁷. Whoever descended into the cave of Trophonius to consult the oracle, was pale and dejected on his return; and hence it became proverbial to say of a melancholy man, that he *had consulted the oracle of Trophonius*.

The ancient history of Thebes goes back as far as Ogyges, a son of Neptune, who flourished 1796 B. C. or 1020 years

¹ Hence Horace, "Bœotum in crasso jurares aëre natum" (*Ep.* ii. 1. 244). Βοιωτία ὕψ.—*Pind. Ol.* 6. 152.

² *Heliconiades*: hence *Heliconis*, a poem or song.—*Stat.*

³ Nocturnus vocat clamore Cithæron (*Virg. Æn.* 4, 303).

⁴ Ἡ τοῦ ἵππου κρήνη, said to have been formed by the stroke of the hoof of Pegasus; hence called "Vatum conscius amnis Gorgoneo percussus equo" (*Stat. Theb.* 4, 60). *Fons Medusæus*, because Pegasus sprung from the blood of the Gorgon Medusa.

⁵ Thebes was anciently called *Ogygia*, from Ogyges, and Aonia: hence *Aonides-um*, the muses (Aoniæ sorores). *Deus Aonius*, Bacchus; Vel Baccho ΤΗΕΒΑΣ, vel Apolline Delphos Insignes (*Hor. Od.* i. 7, 3). *Aonius Vertex*. Mount Helicon (*Virg. G.* 3, 11).

⁶ *Dirceus cygnus*.—*Hor. Od.* iv. 2, 25.

⁷ Πηγαι—ἄμμιον γάλακτι ὕδωρ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀνέειπιν.—ix. 34. 3.

before the first Olympiad.¹ During his reign the country was laid waste with a deluge. About the year 1500 B. C. Cadmus, from Tyre, landed in Bœotia, and built the citadel of *Cadmea*, which afterwards became the Acropolis of Thebes (p. 101). The narrow extent of their territory, combined with its position near the sea (the mountains supplying materials for ship-building), induced the Phœnicians, at a very early period, to connect commercial navigation with piracy, and to establish numerous settlements on all the coasts of the Mediterranean. Thus, at the dawn of history, we find the Phœnicians in the islands of the Ægean, on the southern, and even northern coasts of Asia Minor; and, as they were expelled thence by the Greeks, they extended their navigation and settlements to the extreme western limits of the then known world.² They had factories along the north coast of Africa, from which powerful and independent states, like Carthage, grew up; also in Sicily, Sardinia, the Balearic islands, and especially on the southern coast of Spain (at that time abounding in silver), where they founded Cadiz (*Gades*) and *Tartessus*, or Tarshish, the most celebrated emporium in the west.³ Their bold seamen extended their voyages beyond the western limits of Europe, and visited, without the aid of the compass, Britain, particularly the *Cassiterides*, ("Scilly Islands"), from whence they imported tin (*Cassiterum*) for the Tyrian market.

¹ Hence the country bore the name of 'Ogygia. The Greeks had no higher name for a matter of antiquity than to call it 'Ogygion. "Thebani res antiquas Ogygias nominabant" (*Lactant. in Stat. Theb.* i). Ogyges is called the son of Neptune; but we should suppose that this alludes merely to his having come across the sea. Bishop Stillingfleet, in his *Origines Sacre* (i. 19), contends for the identity of Cadmus and Ogyges. Thus 'Ogygia καὶ is interpreted in the Vatican appendix of the Greek proverbs, in relation to the sorrows of "Cadmus, called Ogyges."

² *Pretum Herculeum* vel *Gaditanum*, or the Straits of Gibraltar.

³ "Ships of Tarshish" is employed, Is. xxiii. 1, 4; Is. 9. to denote large merchant ships bound on long voyages, even though they were sent to other countries instead of Tarshish.—Compare the English phrase, "Indiaman."—Gesenius, *Heb. Lex. sub voce*.

Amber (*electrum*) was imported from the Baltic. They completed the circumnavigation of Africa under Pharaoh Necho of Egypt, about 600 B. C. Whether they proceeded as far as the shores of India or not, it is evident that an extensive trade was carried on with Cosseir, a seaport on the Red Sea, which communicated with the wealthy Thebes in Egypt, one of the earliest of commercial cities.—Cadmus introduced into Greece the knowledge of the precious metals, the worship of Bacchus, and also the use of letters, which, for a long time, preserved their Phœnician names. Thus the Phœnician alphabet¹ is the basis of all the European alphabets. Herodotus saw tripods in a temple at Thebes, with inscriptions in Cadmean letters, which went back above 1350 B. C.

The dominion of Thebes was wrested from the successors of Cadmus about the year 1300 B. C. by Amphion, celebrated for his musical skill, and Zethus. Amongst their successors we may mention Creon, whose daughter Creusa, having married Jason after his return from the Argonautic expedition, fell a sacrifice to the revengeful jealousy of Medea, who had been previously married to Jason. Neither must we forget Œdipus, son of Laius, whose catalogue of sufferings, including the killing of his own father, and the marrying of his own mother, have formed an ample theme for the labours of the tragic muse.²

The succeeding period is rendered memorable by the mortal enmity of Eteocles and Polynices; and the war of the seven Argive princes against Thebes (p. 104). The monarchical form of government was abolished here 1100 B. C.; and the different cities of Bœotia formed so many small republics, united by a confederacy, and more or less under the dominion of Thebes. Orchomenus alone preserved its independence, while the cities of Platææ and Thespisæ threw themselves into the arms of Athens, in order

¹ Καδμεία, Φοινικεία γράμματα.

² Sophocles in his *Œdipus Rex*, &c.—*Œdipus Coloneus*.

to secure their protection against the ascendancy of Thebes. In the Persian wars, the Boeotians, with the exception of Thespiæ and Platææ, sided with the barbarians (p. 161). At a later period, Thebes became one of the first states of Greece, under the guidance of Epaminondas and Pelopidas (p. 301); but the freedom of Boeotia, as well as the other Greek states, was lost at Chæronea by the triumph of Philip. The Boeotians delighted in bodily excitement and fighting; yet they had a feeling for the charms of music, for beauty, and for feminine delicacy and grace. What was termed the 'Boeotian evil fame' is chiefly applicable to the Thebans, and attaches but little to the honourable Thespians, the brave Platæans, and the hospitable Tanagræans.¹

The following cities and places in Boeotia are the most familiar to the reader:—a. *Thebes*² (Thiva), built on the small river *Ismēnos*, and the birth-place of Hercules and Bacchus—of Pindar, one of the greatest Greek poets, and of the generals Epaminondas and Pelopidas. It was destroyed by Alexander, with the exception of the house in which Pindar was born (p. 354), and rebuilt 316 B. C.:—b. *Platææ*, whose inhabitants remained true to Greece in the Persian struggle (p. 151). The great battle in which the Persians, under Mardonius, were defeated by the Greeks, took place in its neighbourhood (p. 176). It was destroyed by the Thebans in the Peloponnesian war, and its gallant defenders perfidiously sacrificed (p. 221):—d. *Chæronea*, on the Cephissus, was the birth-place of Plutarch, and is celebrated for the decisive victory by which Philip achieved the overthrow of Grecian independence (p. 349); also by the victory of Philip II. and Sylla over Mithridates:—d. *Ascræa* was a small town near Helicon, and the residence of Hesiod³:—e. Near *Leuctra*, the Thebans, under Epaminondas,

¹ *Wachsmuth*, vol. i. p. 96. *Trans.*

² It bears the epithet of ἑπτάπυλος, or "seven-gated," in order to distinguish it from the hundred-gated Thebes in Egypt; and εἰρῡχωρος, from the plain in which it was situated; *Cadmææ*, *Herculeæ*, &c.

³ *Ascræus senex* (*Virg. Ecl. 6. 70*). Hence Virgil uses *Ascræum*

obtained the first victory over the Spartans (p. 306):—f. *Aulis*, near the Straits of Eubœa (here termed Euripus), was the place where the Grecian fleet assembled for the expedition to Troy, and Agamemnon sacrificed his daughter Iphigenia,¹ in order to procure a favourable wind² (p. 113):—g. *Orchomenus*, the principal seat of the Minyæ, and compared in the Iliad to the Egyptian Thebes, on account of its wealth³:—e. *Tanagra* was the birth-place of the poetess Corinna, the rival of Pindar; here the Athenians were defeated by the Thebans (p. 198).

Phocis, bounded by Bœotia, Locris, Thessaly, Doris, and the Corinthian Gulf, was a small mountainous district, which possessed no considerable river, except the *Cephissus*. Amongst the most celebrated of its mountains, we may mention the “two-peaked” *Parnassus* (biceps Parnassus),⁴ the residence of the muses, and their patron Apollo, from which sprang the fount of *Castalia*; and Mount *Oeta*, on the borders of Thessaly. Parnassus may be considered as the boundary to the east, that parted off those Hellenic tribes in which the nobler faculties of humanity were still undeveloped.⁵ Phocis was fearfully ravaged during the ten years’ sacred war, which was undertaken by the rest of the Greek states, in order to punish the Phocians, on account of their impiety in ploughing the Cirrhæan plain, belonging to the god of Delphi (p. 325).

The only important place in this country was *Delphi*, now Castri, at the foot of Parnassus, and the seat of the most celebrated oracle of antiquity. According to tradition,

carmen, for a poem on husbandry, in reference to Hesiod’s “Works and Days.”—*Georg.* ii. 176.

¹ This forms the subject-matter of the play of Euripides, entitled, *Iphigenia in Aulis*.

² Hence Lucan is supposed to term it *Iniquam classibus Aulin* (5, 236).

³ It contained a treasury built by Minyas; Pausanias designates the structure *θαῦμα* (ix. 38. 1), or “a marvel.”

⁴ There are three peaks, but two only can be seen from Delphi.

⁵ *Wachsmuth*, vol. i. p. 20.

Apollo slew here an immense serpent, called *Pytho*; hence this was the ancient name of the place, and *Pythius* was an usual epithet of Apollo. A tripod was stationed at the opening of a cavity, which sent forth stupefying exhalations; and the priestess (*Pythia*), when she had placed herself upon it, was immediately elevated into a state of ecstasy.¹ The obscure words, that proceeded from her amidst howling and convulsions, were collected and interpreted as the response of God. Oracles exerted an important influence upon the foundation, government, and legislation of the Greek states² (p. 432).

The oracle at Delphi was consulted by individuals from all countries. Its generally recognized authority was the growth of the age which preceded the Persian wars, under the particular protection of Sparta, which at that time reposed implicit confidence in it. The temple was enriched with votive offerings of every description; "and here, under the protection of the god, were collected the master-pieces of Grecian art in countless abundance." The Amphictyons usually held their sittings³ in this temple (p. 427); and games, similar to the Olympic, were celebrated at first every ninth, and then every fifth year. The harbour of Delphi was *Cirrha*.⁴ The small maritime town of *Anticyra* was

¹ The reader will see a description of the *Pythia* in this state in *Lucan*, v. 165, and a corresponding description of the sybil in *Virg. Æn.* vi. 47. Demosthenes accused the priestess of being in the interest of Philip (φιλιππιστευ). — *Cic. Div.* 2. 57. Cf. *Διολόστομοι χρησμοί*. — *Æsch. Prom.* 661.

² Quam Græcia coloniam misit — sine Pythio aut Dodonæo aut Hammonis oraculo? — *Cic. de Div.* i. 1.

³ Commune Græciæ consilium (*Cic. Invent.* 2, 23). Amphictyonum quis præcipuum fuit rerum omnium Judicium (*Tac. Ann.* 4, 14). The sittings were held here in spring, and in autumn at Anthela, near Thermopylæ; hence called *Pylæicum consilium* (*Liv.* 31, 32). As Delphi was supposed to be the centre of Greece, and of the earth, hence it is called *Umbilicus terræ vel Medium Orbis* (*Liv.* 38, 48; *Ov. Met.* 10, 168).

⁴ As *Cirrha* is sometimes used for Delphi, hence *Dominus Cirrhæ*, Apollo (*Juv.* 7, 64), the priestess *Cirrhaea Virgo*, &c. Quid tibi cum Cirrhâ? Quid cum Permessidos unda? (*Mart.* i. 77, 11.) What have you to do with Delphi? What with the water of Permessis? i. e.

celebrated for its hellebore, which was considered a remedy for insanity.¹

CHAPTER VI.

HELLAS PROPER AND THESSALY.

Doris—Locris—Ætolia—Acarmania—Thessaly.

DORIS, the cradle of the Dorians, was situated betwixt Phocis, Ætolia, and Thessaly, and was surrounded by the mountains of Pindus, Ceta, and Parnassus. It contained only four inconsiderable cities; whence the country was sometimes termed the Doric *Tetrapolis*. The Dorians drew down infamy upon themselves by siding with the Persians.

Locris. The Locrians were divided into three distinct tribes—the *Locri Ozolæ*,² the *Locri Opuntii* (from *Opus*, -*untis*, the capital), and the *Locri Epionemidii* (from Mount Cnemis). These three tribes were never united by a common league. In the Persian war the Locri Epionemidii surrendered to the barbarians; but the Opuntii assisted in defending the pass of Thermopylæ, as well as in repelling the invasion of the Gauls at a later period (p. 410). The Locrians, contrary to the custom of the Greeks, went always armed in their civil occupations (p. 102). The only places in this country deserving of notice are:—a. *Thermopylæ*, a

What have you to do with poetry? Permessis was a river sacred to Apollo and the muses.

¹ *Naviget Anticyram* (*Hor. Sat.* ii. 3, 82). He needs a dose of hellebore; let him go to Anticyra. *Si non eget Anticyrâ* (*Juv.* xiii. 97). The Phocians, near Parnassus, were named Φωκείς, in order to distinguish them from the inhabitant of Phocæa in Asia Minor, who was called Φωκαεύς, or Φωκαεύς, or Φωκαίτης.

² Termed also *Locri Hesperii*, because they lay to the west of the other Locrians. The epithet *Ozolæ*, appears connected with ὄζω, *oleo*; but the reason of its imposition cannot be ascertained.

celebrated pass¹ between the sea and Mount Ceta, where Leonidas fell in his struggle against the Persians (p. 164):—
b. *Naupactus*,² now Lepanto, so called because the Heraclidæ built here the first ships that carried them to the Peloponnesus (p. 115).

Ætolia was a wild mountainous country, bounded by Locris and Doris to the east, Thessaly to the north, Acarnania to the west, and the Ionian sea to the south. Its limits were not always the same; and we must distinguish the ancient *Ætolia*,³ extending along the coast from Achelous to Calydon—and the territory subsequently acquired,⁴ stretching towards the Athamanes on the northern side, and the Locri Ozolæ on the eastern.⁵ The inhabitants were distinguished for their rudeness and rapacity, only becoming connected with the nobler tribes of Greece in their character of mercenaries. The confederacy of the *Ætolian* cities first acquired importance when Greece began to feel the pressure of the Macedonians, and afterwards of the Romans (p. 415).

The two most important rivers of the country are *Evēnus*,⁶ or *Lycormas*, and the *Achelōus*, which forms the boundary of Acarnania. Amongst the cities, we need only mention:—
a. *Calydon*, on the Evenus, and the birth-place of Tydeus,⁷ celebrated for the hunt, in which Meleager killed the Calydonian boar:—b. *Olēnos*, where the goat Amalthæa was produced⁸:—c. *Thermos*, considered in the latest period, as the capital of *Ætolia*, being the place of assembly for the confederate cities (p. 415). There were several plains in *Ætolia* remarkable for their fertility:—1. The great *Ætolian* plain⁹:—2. *Paracheloitis*, inundated by the

¹ *Pylæ*, gates or narrow pass, surnamed *Thermopylæ*, from its hot springs or baths (Θέρμα λούτρα)—*Herod.* 7, 176.

² *Ναῦς*, *navis*, and *πήγνυμι*, *pango*.

³ *Αἰτωλία ἀρχαία*.

⁴ *Αἰτωλία ἐπικτητος*.

⁵ *Cramer's Ancient Greece*, ii. 60.

⁶ *Ἐβηνος*.

⁷ *Calydonius Heros*.—*Stat. Theb.* ii. 476.

⁸ Hence she is called *Olenia Capella*, and the constellation into which she was changed, *Olenia sidus pluviale capellæ* (*Ov. Met.* 3, 594), because the rising and setting of the kids (*hædi*) was usually attended with rain.—*Virg. Æn.* ix. 668.

⁹ *Αἰτωλῶν πεδίων μέγα*.

river near its mouth, and drained, or, according to the fable, torn by Hercules from the river-god:—3. The *Lelantian plain* at the mouth of the Evenus.¹

Acarnania was bounded to the east by *Ætolia*, to the north by *Epirus* and the Gulf of *Ambracia*, to the south and west by the *Ionian sea*. The *Achelōus*, already mentioned, is the principal river of this country; we are also acquainted with the *Inachus*, and the *Anapos* (*Eunapus*). *Acarnania* had many excellent harbours; but its inhabitants were little inclined to commercial intercourse with neighbouring states. Amongst its cities we may notice:—a. *Argos*, surnamed the *Amphilochian* to distinguish it from *Argos* in the *Peloponnesus*, and situated on the *Ambracian Gulf*:—b. *Leucadia*, situated on a peninsula which has been converted by a canal into an island (*Santa Maura*). Here was the rock,² or lover's leap, from which *Sappho* flung herself into the sea:—c. *Actium*, a city and promontory, in the neighbourhood of which *Augustus* obtained a decisive naval victory over his rival *Antony*, and games, hitherto superintended by the *Lacedæmonians*,³ were celebrated by *Augustus* in consequence. Though *Leucadia*, *Cephalenia*, *Ithaca*, and other adjacent islands were considered a portion of *Acarnania*, yet they were inhabited by a different race.⁴

*Thessaly*⁵ was a fine fruitful country, distinguished for its excellent breed of cattle, particularly horses. Hence the *Thessalians* first introduced the usage of riding, which was unknown in the times of *Homer* (p. 100); and hence we may explain the tradition of the *Centaurs*, who were represented as half-man and half-horse. *Thessaly* was the most ancient seat of all the Greek tribes; the residence of the *Lapithæ* and *Titans*, of *Japetus* and *Prometheus*, of *Pelagus* and *Deucalion*, the leaders of the two principal Greek

¹ See *Anthon* sub voce.

² *Leucates*, Λευκάς ἄκρα, Λευκάρας.

³ To the *Actian Apollo*.

⁴ *Mannert*, *Geog.* viii. 33.

⁵ *Hæmonia*, or *Æmonia* (from Mount *Hæmos*), is used as a poetic name of *Thessaly*; hence *Æmonius Juvenis*, *Jason*.—*Ov.* *Hæmonii equi*, the horses of *Achilles*. *Æmonia puppis*, the ship *Argo*.—*Id.*

tribes. It was the native country of Jason, the leader of the Argonautic expedition, Admetus, the contemporary and friend of Hercules, Pirithous, the companion of Hercules, and the heroes of the Trojan war, Philoctetes and Achilles. The Thessalians, though dwelling in a fruitful and smiling land, conducted themselves as if they were the invaders, and not the permanent occupants of the soil. They were ever distinguished by their faithlessness and debauchery, and they carried on a disgraceful traffic in their fellow-men.¹ At the commencement of the Christian era, Thessaly was celebrated as the principal seat of superstitious necromancy.²

Thessaly was bounded to the north by Macedonia, to the west by Epirus, to the south by Ætolia, Doris, and Locris, and to the east by the Ægean sea. The most important rivers in Thessaly are the *Penēus*³ (now Salambria), which collects the waters of the *Apidānus* and the *Enīpeus* in its course, and flows betwixt Mount Ossa and Olympus, through the celebrated vale of Tempe.⁴ *Sperchīus*,⁵ now Hellada, directs its course at no great distance from the southern boundary of the country.

The most important mountains were *Olympus*, on the boundaries of Macedonia, the natural bulwark of Greece, and the usual residence of the gods; *Ossa*, separated from Olympus by the vale of Tempe winding through verdant meads and between perpendicular precipices;⁶ *Pindus*, on the limits of Epirus; and *Æta*, on which Hercules burnt

¹ *Aristoph. Plut.* 52. Pagasæ was a slave-market.

² Hence *Thessala Venena*, magic herbs or drugs; *Carmen Thessalidum*, the form of words used in incantations. These sorcerers pretended to perform the most incredible things, to excite or appease tempests, to recall the dead to life, or precipitate the living to the tomb; even to arrest the sun in his course, and to draw the moon down to the earth.—*Virg. Ecl.* 8, 69; *Hor. Ep. Od.* 17, 71; *Ov. Ep.* 6, 85. ³ Πηνειός. ⁴ Τεμπεή, Æolicè, τεμπεή. ⁵ Σπερχειός.

⁶ According to tradition, Ossa was separated from Olympus by a convulsion of nature. Mythology ascribes it to Hercules; hence *Herculeæ fauces*.—*Lucan* viii. 1.

himself. In the overhanging forests of *Pelion*, the fated tree was felled which first found a way¹ through the Cyprian rocks to revive the dormant feud between Europe and Asia; and on the same ground the muses met at the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, to predict the birth of Achilles and the ruin of Troy.²

Thessaly may be divided into six parts; *Thessaliotis*, *Phthiotis*,³ *Pelasgiotis*, *Hestiacotis*, *Magnesia*, and *Perrhæbia*. The most important places in Thessaly were:—a. *Larissa*, now Jenitza, the finest city in Thessaly, and enriched with a plain of surpassing fertility:⁴—b. *Iolcos*, near the harbour Aphetæ, from whence the Argonauts commenced their expedition (p. 103):—c. *Trachin*, afterwards *Heraclæa*, where Hercules lived in his last years:—d. *Pharsalus*, a considerable city, near which Cæsar conquered Pompey. In its neighbourhood were situated the hills of *Cynoscephalæ*, so called, because their eminences, from their sharp tops, resembled the heads of dogs.⁵ Here the Romans, under Flaminius, gained a victory over the younger Philip, and terminated the first Macedonian war (p. 420):—e. *Pagasæ*, on the Gulf of that name, whose inhabitants were removed by Demetrius Poliorcetes to Demetrias.⁶ The important position of Demetrias has been already noticed (p. 17):—f. *Gomphi*, an ancient and well fortified city, destroyed by Cæsar:—g. The Vale of *Tempe* is the only pass through which an enemy can invade Thessaly from the north; and the road, which at the narrowest part is cut in the rock, might, in the opinion of the ancients, be defended by ten men against a host. The imagination of the ancient poets and declaimers delighted to dwell on the natural beauties of this romantic glen, and on the sanctity of the site, from which Apollo had transplanted his laurel to Delphi.⁷

¹ In the Argonautic expedition.

² *Eurip. Med.* 3; *Iphig. A.* 1040; *Thirlwall*, vol. i. p. 7.

³ Phthius Achilles.—*Hor. Od.* 4, 6.

⁴ Larissæ campus opimæ.—*Ibid.* i. 7, 11. ⁵ Κυνῶν κεφαλαί.

⁶ Hence we may understand Pliny, "*Pagasæ, idem postea Demetrias dictum.*"—iv. 8. 15.

⁷ *Thirlwall*, vol. i. p. 5.

CHAPTER VII.

THE NORTHERN COUNTRIES OF GREECE.

Epirus—Macedonia—Thrace.

UNDER these divisions we include the countries of Epirus, Macedonia, and Thrace, which were considered as half barbarous by the Greeks :—

Epirus,¹ now Albania, or Arnaut, is bounded by the Ionian sea to the west, by Acarnania to the south, by Thessaly to the east, and by Illyria to the north. In the interior it is traversed by wild and uncultivated mountains; the Ceraunian mountains extending westward, as the principal range of the *Pindus*, and terminating in the rugged headland, *Acroceraunia*,² which forms a barrier between the Ionian sea, and the Adriatic Gulf. The wildness of the country, and the rudeness of the inhabitants, have given occasion to the Greeks to place in the lower world, the rivers of *Acheron* and *Cocytus*,³ which flow into the Gulf of Acherusia. Its oxen and horses were unrivalled; and it was also celebrated for a large breed of dogs (*Molossi*), whose ferocity is still remarked by the traveller.

The most powerful tribes, inhabiting Epirus, were the Chaonians,⁴ Thesprotians, and Molossians. The latter,

¹ Ἠπειρος the main land—the name being given as a relative distinction, by the inhabitants of the islands in the Ionian Sea.

² Acroceraunia Montes, Ceraunia, τὰ Κεραῦνια.—As they were surrounded with rocks projecting into the sea, and dangerous to mariners.—Horace terms them—"Infāmes scopulos Acroceraunia" (*Od.* i. 3. 20).

³ i. e. *Lamentation*, from κωλύω. "Its modern name *Vava* (βαβὰ) is an expression of grief or aversion. It flows over a deep muddy soil, imbibing noxious qualities from innumerable weeds on its banks (ὄδω ἀρεπρίστατον. *Paus.*)"—*Hughes' Travels in Greece*, ii. 311.

⁴ Hence *Chaonius* is often used poetically for *Epiroticus*. *Chaoniae Columbae*, the pigeons of Dodona; *Frondes Chaoniae*, the oaks of Dodona; *Victus Chaonius*, acorns on which men were supposed to live, before the invention of husbandry. The stern of the ship *Argo*, being made of the oak of Dodona, was endued with the gift of prophecy—*utpote fatidicis avulsa silvis*.—*Val. Flacc.* i. 304.

though not of Greek origin, could boast of being governed by a family who traced their origin to Hercules. Epirus only exhibited itself for a moment on the political stage, when Pyrrhus, by his adventurous expeditions, yet useless victories, inspired terror in the Macedonians in Greece, and even the Romans in Italy, and the Carthaginians in Sicily (p. 411). This country, as well as the most northern "coast land" of Illyria, appears to have been doomed, from time immemorial to an everlasting barbarism. Strabo states that the ancient tribes of Epirus, spoke the same language, wore the same dress as the Macedonians, and had many other usages in common with them. Its modern inhabitants, the Arnauts, or Albanians, are amongst the most warlike, yet the most uncultivated people of Europe.

The following are the only places in Epirus, which claim our notice:—a. *Ambracia*, (now Arta) a Corinthian colony, once the residence of the *Æacids*, particularly of Pyrrhus, and in the neighbourhood of the gulf which derives its name from it:—b. *Nicopolis*, not far from Prevesa, at the entrance of the same gulf, and opposite the promontory of Actium. It was founded by Augustus,¹ in order to commemorate the victory that he obtained there:—c. *Dodona*,² the seat of the oldest oracle in Greece (p. 98), dedicated to Jupiter, whose origin is lost in fabulous tradition:—d. *Buthrōtum*,³ now Butrinto, an important harbour opposite the island of Corcyra:—e. *Dyrrhacchium* (at an earlier period *Epidamnus*⁴, now Durazzo), the usual landing-place from Brundisium, in Italy.⁵

Macedonia. This country, which is so important in the

¹ From the remnants, in a great measure, of the *Ætolian* nation.

² The responses of the oracle were anciently delivered from the sacred oak or beech (*Pelasgæ Quercus*). Hence the title of *Pelasgic* assigned to Jupiter, to whom the temple was dedicated. Ζεῦ ἄνα, Δωδωνιῇ, Πελασγικῇ.—*Hom. Il. xvi.* 233. ³ Βουθρωτόν.

⁴ The Romans changed the name, because it sounded ominous in their language, quasi *ad damnum*.

⁵ Hence Catullus calls it *Hadriæ taberna*, xxxiv. 15.

later history of Greece, was for a long time inhabited by a wild and barbarous people.¹ At the period of the Persian wars, the Macedonian kings were so weak, that Darius, in his expedition against the Scythians, rendered them tributary; and Xerxes, in his invasion of Greece, made them follow in his train. Macedonia, therefore, took no prominent part in the general politics of Greece, until Philip elevated it in the scale of civilization, and organized that invincible phalanx (p. 320), by which the crown of Asia was laid at the feet of Alexander. As a Roman province, Macedonia was divided into *Macedonia prima*, and *Macedonia secunda*, or *salutaris*, the one being imperial, and the other proconsular.² Thessaly and Epirus were also connected with it. It was divided into four districts, of which Amphipolis, Thessalonica, Pella, and Heraclea were respectively the capitals.

Macedonia was bounded to the south by Epirus, Thessaly, and the Ægean Sea; to the east by Thrace, the boundary on that side being formed by the river *Nestos*. Its limits to the north and west were very indefinite. On the Thesalian boundary lay *Olympus*; on the Thracian *Pangæus*, containing rich gold mines (p. 321). Here Orpheus enrap-tured woods and wild beasts with his song. The mountain of *Athos* is situated between the Singitic and Strymonic Gulfs. Xerxes dug a canal through the promontory,³ in order to avoid the danger of doubling it with his fleet (p. 158). Athos is visible from Cape Sigæum, on the opposite coast of Asia. Its shadow, during the summer solstice, fell upon a brazen ox, in the market place of the Lemnian city of Myrina, which gave rise to the fable, that the sun was visible upon its summit, three hours earlier than in the plain. The principal rivers are the *Axios*, now

¹ We observe how contemptuously Demosthenes speaks of this upstart people (p. 331). ² Rom. Antiq. p. 170.

³ Hence Athos is said to have been sailed over, *Velificatus Athos*.—Juv. x. 174.

Wardar, which divides the country, from north to south, into two equal parts: the *Strymon*, for a long time the boundary river towards Thrace; and the *Nestos*, which was considered as such at a later period. Macedonia was said to contain 150 different nations, which, at least, may be considered a proof of its original barbarism.

The most important cities in Macedonia Proper are:—a. *Pella*, the residence of Philip and Alexander.¹ Here Euripides was buried:—b. *Pydna*, not far from the sea, where Perseus, the last king of Macedon, suffered a decisive defeat from the Romans:—c. *Methōne*,² a fortress, at the siege of which Philip lost his eye by an arrow:—d. *Thessalonica*, formerly *Thermæ*³ (now Salonichi), which first acquired importance after the time of Alexander. It is well known from the preaching and *epistles* of St. Paul:—e. *Stagīra*,⁴ the birth-place of Aristotle, hence called the *Stagīrite*:—f. *Philippi*, built by Philip. Not far from this city, Brutus and Cassius, the last assertors of Roman liberty, were defeated by Augustus and Antony. Amongst the Greek colony-cities we may mention *Olynthus*, famous for its sieges, *Potidæa* (afterwards *Cassandria*), and *Amphipolis*, founded by the Athenians, and which embroiled them at a later period in disputes with Philip (pp. 321, 334). The harbour of Amphipolis was *Eion*.

Thrace, now Romania.—At an early period the Greeks comprised, under this name, all the country that lay to the north of Thessaly; but afterwards it was confined to that which lies between the *Nestos*⁵ and the Black Sea, in the east and west, and between the *Ægean* Sea and Mount *Hæmus*, in the north and south. We perceive indications of a very early civilization of Thrace in the traditions of the Thracian legislator, Xamolxis, and the "Singers," Orpheus, Linus, and Thamyris. Amongst its barbarous tribes the

¹ *Pellæus Juvenis*.—*Juv.* 10, 168.

² *Μεθώνη*.

³ On the *Sinus Thermaicus* (Macedonicus Sinus).

⁴ *Στάγειρα*, *Στάγειρος*.

⁵ *Ὁ Νέστος*, *Νέστος*.

Getae, the Odrysi, and the Triballi are the most familiar.¹ The Greeks established colonies upon the coasts, and especially upon that peninsula which touches the Hellespont, called the *Thracian Chersonese*.² In the time of Pliny, Thrace was divided into fifty præfectureships.³

The country is bounded and traversed by two principal chains of mountains—the *Hæmus* (now the Balkan), on the north, and *Rhodope*⁴ on the south. The principal river is the *Hebros*, now *Maritza*. Amongst its cities we may notice:—a. *Abdëra*,⁵ which, though the birth-place of Democritus and Pythagoras, was famed for the stupidity of its inhabitants:—b. *Byzantium*, founded nearly at the same time as Rome. On its site Constantine built Constantinople (now called Istambol by the Turks), as the seat of empire:—c. On the Chersonese, “which in ancient, as well as modern times, has formed a bridge for the migration of nations,” lay *Sestos*, opposite *Abydös* on the coast of Asia,⁷ both celebrated for the loves of Leander and Hero.⁸ Here Xerxes crossed over into Europe by his bridge of boats, (p. 159):—d. *Philippopolis*, which received its name from

¹ From the *Lake Bistonis*, we have the *Bistones*, *Bistonides*, Thracian women, *Hor.*—*Bistonis Ora*, Thrace, *Ov.*—So also *Edones*, *Matres Edonides*, priestesses of Bacchus.

² Ἡ Χερσόνησος, ἡ χερσόνησος ἡ ἐν Θράκη, so termed, in order to distinguish it from the *Taurica Chersonesus* (Crim Tartary), the *Cimbrica* (Jutland), and the *Aurea* (Malacca), lying beyond the Ganges. The term is commonly derived from χέρσος, or χέρρος, the “mainland,” and νῆσος, an island, i. e. an island joining to the mainland.

³ *Ἑρπαργιαί, Præfecturæ*, iv. 11. 18.

⁴ Hence Orpheus is called *Rhodopeius Vates*.—*Ov. Met.* 10, 11.

⁵ Ἀδδρα.

⁶ Hence Ἀδδρηρικὸν, foolish. *Abderitanæ pectora plebis habes*, you are stupid, *Mart.* x. 25; and Cicero speaks of some absurd opinions of Democritus, as being more worthy of his country, than of the philosopher.—*Nat. D.* i. 43.

⁷ *Europamque Asiæ, Sestonque admovit Abydo*, (Lucan ii. 674.) To a person approaching them by sea, Sestos and Abydos appeared one city; hence “cœperat a geminâ (sorore quasi) discedere Sestos Abydo,” (*Val. Flacc.* i. 285). The place near Sestos, where Xerxes fastened his bridge of boats, was significantly denominated ἀποβάθρα, *scala navalis*.

⁸ Amore notatum æquor.—*Luc.* ix. 954.

Philip of Macedon :—e. The later Roman emperors founded cities here, as *Hadrianopolis*, now Edrene, on the Hebrus, and *Traganopolis* on the same river. They also enlarged cities already existing :—f. *Apollonia*¹ was a Milesian colony, built on a little island connected with the mainland, and celebrated for its statue and temple of Apollo :—g. In the neighbourhood of Doriscus lay *Scaptesyle*, noted for its gold mines. Here Thucydides wrote his history, and died :—h. *Ægospotamos*, or the small river *Ægos* (Goat's River), where Lysander defeated the Athenian fleet, and terminated the Peloponnesian war, (p. 263).—i. At the mouth of the Euxine we meet with the "Blue Symplegades,"² supposed by the ancients to be floating rocks, which first became fixed when the ship *Argo* had effected its passage through them.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ISLANDS.

*Ionian Isles—Crete—Rhodes—Cyclades, Sporades—Eubœa—Samo-
thrace, Lesbos, Samos, &c.*

THE islands³ may be divided most conveniently into those in the Ionian Sea, and those in the Ægean. In the Ionian

¹ Earlier *Antium*, *Ἀνθεῖα*, later *Sozopolis*.

² *Cyaneæ*, or *Symplegades*, sing. *Symplegas*.

³ "Almost every one of them possessed its own remarkable objects, and its own claims to fame. The fertile Corcyra boasted then, as it does now, of its harbour and its ships. Ithaca, small as it is, shares the immortality of Ulysses and Homer. Cythera, in the south, was the residence of the Paphian goddess. Ægina, inconsiderable as it seems, long disputed with Athens the sovereignty of the sea. What Greek could hear Salamis named, without feeling a superiority over the barbarians? Eubœa was celebrated for its fertility; Thasos for its gold mines; Samothrace for its mysteries; and in the labyrinth of the Cyclades and Sporades, what island has not afforded the poets the subject of a hymn? Delos and Naxos had their gods; Paros its marble; Melos its misfortunes."—*Heeren*.

Sea, or along the western coast of Greece, we meet with a series of islands, now termed the seven Ionian islands. Amongst these we may notice:—a. *Corcyra* (formerly *Drepane*), now Corfu, which is considered by many to be the island Scheria, the country of the Phæacians,¹ mentioned in Homer. The Italian coast may be seen from its mountains. Corcyra was a Corinthian colony; and at the time of the Peloponnesian war, of which it was the principal cause, (p. 209), could furnish 120 ships of war. It soon asserted the sovereignty of the Ionian Sea:—b. *Cephalenia*,² now Cephalonia, opposite the coast of Acarnania:—c. *Ithaca*, now Teaki, a mere cluster of mountain peaks, once the kingdom of Ulysses:³—d. *Zacynthus*,⁴ now Zante, opposite the coast of Elis.—e. *Dulichium*,⁵ not far from Ithaca, was subject to Ulysses.⁶

In the south of the Ægean sea, or Archipelago, we meet with the large island of *Crete*, now Candia. It is a beautiful and fertile island, traversed by a ridge of mountains, among the summits of which *Ida* and *Dictæ*⁷ are the most familiar. Tradition reports that it was first inhabited by the Curetes, a Phœnician people, and ruled over by Saturn, who was dethroned by his sons, Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto. The island is celebrated by Homer for its hundred cities.⁸

¹ Σχερίη, Φαίηκων γαῖα. It was the seat of Alcinoüs, and from the luxurious manner in which his courtiers lived (*Odys.* viii), Horace compares the multitude (*fruges consumere nati*), to the *Juventus Alcinói* (*Ep.* i. 2. 29): and uses *Phæax* as synonymous with *pinguis* (*Ep.* i. 15. 24). The Phæacians (*Phæax populus*) were strangely credulous in believing the strange stories of Ulysses (*Juv.* 15. 23). Here were the famous gardens of Alcinoüs, bearing fruit twice a year (*bifera pomaria Stat. Sylv.* i. 3. 81). or all the year over (*perpetuus Phæacum autumnus*).—*Juv.* v. 151.

² In Homer Σάμη, or Σάμος.

³ Ithacus, *Virg. Æn.* ii. 104.

⁴ Ζάκυνθος ὠλήεσσα, *Nemorosa Zacynthos*.

⁵ Dulichium Sameque et Neritos ardua saxis. *Same*, i. e. Cephalenia. Mount *Neritos* is in Ithaca.—*Virg. Æn.* iii. 270, 271.

⁶ Hence *Dulichia naves* the ships of Ulysses; *Dulichii proci* the suitors of Penelope.

⁷ In a cave of this mountain, *Dictæo sub antro*, Jupiter was nursed.—*V. G.* 4. 152.

⁸ Ἑκατόμπολις.—*Il.* ii. 649.

Amongst its kings we notice Minos, a hero and legislator;¹ and amongst its artists Dædalus (pp. 102, 103). The Cretans are represented as addicted to gluttony and lying.² Chalk (*Creta*) received its name from this island.³ The chief cities were:—a. *Gnossos*, or *Cnossos* (hence *Gnossia regna*, Crete) in the neighbourhood of which was a cavern, in which Jupiter was born; and the celebrated labyrinth, constructed by Dædalus, and the abode of the Minotaur⁴:—b. *Gortyna*, to the south, and *Cydonia* (now Canea), at the western extremity of the island. The possession of Crete was necessary to insure the dominion of the Ægean. The Cretans were distinguished for their skill in archery,⁵ no less than their mercenary spirit.

North-east of Crete, near the Asiatic coast, lay the island of *Rhodes*, celebrated for its naval power, its commerce, and love of the sciences. Its name has been derived from the Greek *ρόδον*, a rose, with which flower the island abounded; and Rhodian coins are said to be still extant, exhibiting on one side the rose, and on the other the sun, to which the island was sacred, for here it shines with unclouded splendour. The maritime law of the Rhodians was in force through the whole extent of the Mediterranean, and was adopted by Augustus into the legislation of Rome. The Rhodians are celebrated in history as expert slingers. *Rhodes* was the principal city in the island; its harbour was adorned with a colossal statue of brass, dedicated to the sun; vessels could pass between its legs at full sail. The colossus was thrown down by an earthquake fifty-six years

¹ He is said to have spent nine years in the cave of Jupiter. 'Εν-
νέωρος Διὸς ἀριστήρ, Nonennis Jovis confabulator vel discipulus.—
Odys. xix. 179 (Jovis arcanis Minos admissus, *Hor. Od.* i. 28). Some
say that he went thither every ninth year. How far the Spartans were
indebted to the legislation of Crete, see p. 124, *note*.

² Κόητες ἀεὶ ψεύσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί. A quotation
from Epimenides in St. Paul.—*Ep. Tit.* i. 12.

³ Cressâ ne careat pulchra dies notâ (*Hor. Od.* i. 36, 10). Let the
day be distinguished by a white mark as a lucky day.

⁴ Labor ille domûs et inextricabilis error.—*V. Æn.* vi. 27.

⁵ Hence Cydonia spicula, arundo, pharetra, &c.

after its erection. Besides this place, *Lindos* and *Jalyssos* are also mentioned.

North of Crete, we meet with two groups of islands; the westerly of which were termed the *Cyclades*,¹ or "lying in a circle round Delos;"² and the easterly the *Sporades*, or "scattered" islands.³ Amongst the Cyclades we may notice:—a. *Delos*, a small rocky island, which, according to tradition, was once a "floating" rock, until Latona took refuge on it from the wrath of Juno, and gave birth to Apollo and Diana⁴ (hence *Delius Apollo*, *Delia Dea*). The island having been purified during the Peloponnesian war, an edict was issued, that for the future no person should be suffered to die, nor any child to be born, in the island, but, that when death or parturition approached, they should be carried over to *Rheneia* (formerly *Ortygia*). The temple of Delos was also used as the treasury of the Greek states during the Persian wars (p. 105). A sacred ship, called *Θεωρίς*, annually sailed to Delos from Athens, with a sacrifice; and, during its absence, it was unlawful to inflict any punishment upon a criminal⁵:—b. The little island of *Antiparos* is now celebrated for its grotto:—c. To the south of Delos we meet with *Paros*, celebrated for its white marble, and the birth-place of Phidias and Praxiteles. "The works executed in Parian marble, retain, with all the delicate soft-

¹ Κύκλος, a circle.

² Αἱ νῆσοι, αἱ τὴν Δῆλον ἐκυκλώσαντο. The islands which encircled Delos. *Eustath.* Honey, as sweet as that of Attica, came from all the Cyclades.

³ Σπειρώ, sparsæ per æquor.

⁴ Hence *Delius foliis ornatus*, crowned with laurel sacred to Apollo (*Hor. Od.* 4. 3. 7); also *Cynthius* (Apollo) and *Cynthia* (Diana), from *Cynthus*, a mountain in the island—per juga Cynthi exercet Diana choros (*V. Æn.* i. 498). The vessels manufactured at Delos (*Delica Vasa*) were valued on account of the brass (see *Rom. Antiq.* p. 386). Apollo is said to have fixed this island by binding it to *Mycænos* and *Gydæros*, two neighbouring islands:—

"Errantem Mycono celsâ Gyæroque revinxit."—*V. Æn.* iii. 75. Hence its name *Delos*—quasi, ὅλος, quoniam repente apparuerit enata.—*Plin.*

⁵ Games were also celebrated every five years, and embassies (*Θεωρίαι*) sent from all the Greek states.

ness of wax, the mild lustre even of their original polish.¹ Here the *Parian*, or *Arundelian marbles*, a chronology commencing with Deucalion (1574 B. C.), were found:—*d. Naxos* (also *Dia*, *Strongyle*, &c.) was celebrated for its wine, and consecrated to Bacchus.² The remaining Cycladic islands are *Melos*, harshly treated by the Athenians in the Peloponnesian war (p. 232); *Gyáros*, an usual place of exile in the time of the Romans;³ *Andros*, *Ceos*, the birth-place of the poet Simonides,⁴ *Siphnos*, with its veins of silver, *Cimōlos*,⁵ &c. The Cyclades lie so close to each other that Virgil speaks of that part of the *Ægean* as planted thick with islands.⁶ After the reduction of Naxos and Paros by the Athenians, the Cyclades lost their political importance.

Amongst the *Sporades* we may reckon many smaller islands lying to the south of the Cyclades, as *Thera*, now Santorin; *Astypalæa*, now Stampalia; *Amorgos*, now Amorgo. To these we may add some of the islands that lie near the Asiatic coast, as *Cos*, now Stanco, the native place of Hippocrates the physician and Apelles the painter, and celebrated for its wine and fine transparent garments (*Coæ vestes*). *Patmos*, well known as the place of exile where the evangelist John wrote his Revelations. *Carpauthus*, now Scarpanto, which gave its name to that portion of the sea, the Carpathian. *Donūsa*, or *Donysa*, was celebrated for a greenish marble.⁷ It must be observed, that the ancients were not fully agreed what islands should be reckoned among the Cyclades, and what among the Sporades.

¹ *Rom. Antiq.* p. 387.

² Hence it is said to be frequented by Bacchanals on the tops of its mountains, "Bacchatamque jugis Naxon."—*Virg. Æn.* iii. 125.

³ So Juvenal compares Alexander (*Pellæus Juvenis*), who was not content with the limits of a world, to an exile cooped up (*æstuat infelix*) within the rocks of *Gyārus* or Serīphus (a similar place of punishment):—

"Ut Gyari clausus scopulis parvâque Serīpho" (x. 170).

⁴ *Ceæ Camena*.

⁵ *Κιμῶλος*.

⁶ *Freta crebris consita terris*.—*Æn.* iii. 127.

⁷ On which account Virgil probably applies the epithet *viridis* to it (*Viridemque Donusam*, *Æn.* iii. 125), as he does *nivea* to Paros.

To the north of these groups of islands we meet with many single islands, the most important of which are:—a. *Eubœa*, now Negropont. From the mainland it is separated by a strait, bearing the name of *Euripus*, where it is narrowest; hence artificial aqueducts or canals are called *Euripi*. At a very early period, Phœnician colonists were attracted by its mines; and the Curetes were said to have first put on brazen armour in Eubœa. This island furnished Attica in a great measure with the means of subsistence (p. 239). Herodotus compares it in point of fertility to Cyprus;¹ and its opulence may be inferred from the designation and value given to the *Euboicum Talentum*. From its southern extremity an uninterrupted succession of islands rendered the voyage to Asia Minor entirely free from danger. The principal places were *Chalcis*, now Egribos, on the Euripus (*Chalcidicus Euripus*); *Eretria*,² now Rocco; and *Carystus*, celebrated for its marble, wine, and asbestos. Off the northern cape of the island, *Artemisium*, the first sea-fight between the Greeks and Persians took place, on the day of the conflict at Thermopylæ (p. 167):—b. To the east of Eubœa³ lay the island of *Scyros*, inhabited by the Dolopes,⁴ where Achilles, when a youth, was discovered by Ulysses in female attire:—c. Much farther north we find *Lemnos*, now Stalimene, an island much disturbed in former times by volcanoes and earthquakes. On this account tradition has fixed in it the dwelling place of Vulcan,⁵ and the Cyclopes who forged Jupiter's thunder-bolts.

Near the coasts of Macedonia and Thrace, we meet with the islands:—a. *Thasos*, celebrated for its wines, and its two years' struggle against the Athenians (p. 191):—b. *Samothrace*,⁶ which was considered sacred down to the time of the Romans, on account of the mysteries there celebrated.

¹ Herod. v. 31.

² *Eperla*.

³ From Eubœa to the south of Peloponnesus, and near Crete, the sea was called *Myrtoum Mare*. ⁴ Scyria pubes.—*Virg. Æn.* ii. 477.

⁵ Lemnius pater.—*Virg. Æn.* viii. 454.

⁶ Thracia Samos.—*Ibid.* vii. 208.

The priests were called Cabiri,¹ afterwards Dioscuri:—c. Opposite the coast of Troas lay the island of *Tenedos*, which the Greeks took in the time of the Trojan war, and where they concealed themselves in order to make the Trojans believe that they had returned home. Tenedos formed, as it were, the key to the Hellespont, and its excellent harbour afforded anchorage to those ships which were prevented from entering that strait by violent northerly winds:—d. More to the south, near the Æolian coast, lay the important island of *Lesbos*, now Mitylene, celebrated for its wine, its cultivation of poetry and music; hence its epithet, *Macaria*, the “blessed,” and *Himerte*, the “love-inspiring.” It was the birth-place of the musicians *Arion*² and *Terpander*, of the poets *Sappho* and *Alcæus*;³ of *Pittacus*, one of the seven wise men, and of the philosopher *Theophrastus*.⁴ The principal cities were *Mitylene* (now *Castro*), destroyed in the Peloponnesian war (p. 220), and *Methymnæ*,⁵ now *Molivo*. As *Lesbos* was the metropolis of the Æolic cities, hence *Lyric poetry*, in which *Alcæus* and *Sappho* excelled, is called “Æolic verse,” *Sappho*, the “Æolian girl;” and the lyre is frequently denominated “Æolic,” or “Lesbian:”—e. South of *Lesbos*, near the Ionian coast, lay *Chios*, celebrated for its wine (“Scian wine”), and its beautiful marble. It contended for the honour of having given birth to *Homer*:—f. Still farther to the south, along the same coast, and separated by a narrow strait from the cape of *Mycæ*, we have the isle of *Samos*, the birth-place of *Pythagoras*.⁶ Here

¹ The priests of the mother of the gods (*Cybele*) were called in *Phrygia*, *Corybantes* (in reference to their dancing in armour); in *Crete*, *Curetes*; on *Ida*, *Dactyli*, workers in metal; and in *Samo-thrace*, *Cabiri* (sons of *Vulcan*).—*Kriebel*.

² *Methymnæus Vates*.—*Stat*.

³ As his poems contained the boldest invectives against tyrants, they are termed “*Minaces Camenæ*.”—*Hor. Od. iv. 9. 7*.

⁴ He was candidate, along with *Menedemus* of *Rhodes*, for the honour of succeeding *Aristotle*; and the dying philosopher delicately intimated his predilection for *Theophrastus*, by calling for cups of *Lesbian* and *Chian* wine, and simply observing, that the “*Lesbian* is sweeter.”—*Aul. Gell. 13. 5*.

⁵ *Methymnæa Lesbos*.—*Ov*.

⁶ *Vir Samius*.—*Ov*.

Juno was held in the highest veneration;¹ her temple at Samos was the largest in all Greece. Samian wine and earthenware were also in great repute; and Herodotus mentions, among other wonders of Samos, an extensive aqueduct and a breakwater to protect the harbour. Samos was in its zenith under the administration of Polycrates (540 B. C.), whose uninterrupted good fortune induced him, at the suggestion of the king of Egypt, to throw into the sea the most precious of his jewels, in order to chequer his enjoyments. The political independence of such islands as Rhodes, Samos, Chios, Lesbos, &c. was generally recognized.

In conclusion, we may observe, that the *Ægean* sea was considered by the Greeks as their peculiar property, "the sea near us;" and in it they have placed the residence of their god Neptune. By the *Hellespont* it is connected with the *Propontis*, by the *Propontis* with the *Thracian Bosphorus*, and by this again with the *Pontus Euxinus*. Aristotle, in discussing the various opinions respecting the advantages of a maritime situation, observes, that the situation of Greece was advantageous, inasmuch as, being almost surrounded by the sea (for it has 2,880 geographical miles of sea-coast), it could never be cut off from the necessities of subsistence, and, therefore, could hold out the better against the attack of an enemy.² But as the surface of Greece is more roughened by mountains and promontories than that of any other part of Europe, these natural divisions, though they might prevent the whole being swallowed up by one uniform system of despotism, yet kept the different communities in a state of separation and hostility. Whilst Athens, in less than half a century, combined islands and coasts into a confederacy, the inhabitants of the interior remained free and disunited.

¹ *Virg. Æn.* i. 16.

² *Polit.* 7. 6.

CHAPTER IX.

GREEK COLONIES.

Asia Minor—Æolian Colonies—Ionian—Dorian—Colonies on the Coasts of Thrace, the Propontis, and the Black Sea—Cyprus—Cyrene—Magna Græcia—Colonies in Sicily.

THE first and most important colonies that come under our notice, are those on the coast of Asia Minor. The whole western coast of Asia Minor was gradually covered with Greek cities, which in conformity with their establishment by different Greek tribes (p. 117), gave to these districts the names of *Æolia*, *Doria*, and *Ionian*, though *Ionian* subsequently came into general use for the whole line of coast. These colonies soon shot a-head of the mother country. An extremely fertile soil, a mild climate,¹ convenient harbours—*islands* situated at no great distance, and a high state of peace and security, all contributed to develop their resources, and increase their prosperity. This prosperity introduced a high state of luxury; and we regret to add, that the Ionians surpassed even the Asiatics in effeminate vices.²

The *Æolian* were the most northerly of these settlements,

¹ See *Herod.* i. 142. The regard of the colonies for the mother cities was kept up by various observances. The emigrants carried with them the sacred fire of political life, from their native Prytaneum, as well as their hereditary gods; they generally obtained priests from the parent city (*Thuc.* i. 25), to which they sent Theorias (*Θεωρία*, legatio ad ludos nomine civitatis), chorusses, &c. to participate in the celebration of a festival; leaders were selected from it for the founding of new colonies; various customs and regulations (*νόμιμα*, *Thuc.* vi. 4), were retained.—*Wachsmuth*, vol. i. p. 151.

² Homer remarks the flowing robes of the Ionians:—

Ἴάονες ἔλκεχιτῶνες (ἔλκω, χιτῶν).—*Hymn. Apoll.* 147.

Motus doceri gaudet Ionicos

Matura virgo.—*Hor.*

Hence the complaint, that the Ionians had enervated the Greek language, ἐλυμήναντο τὴν πάτριον διάλεκτον.—*Hephæst.*

founded by Penthilus and the Orestids about 1124 B. C. As belonging to these we mention :—a. *Cyme*, the birth-place of the historian Herodotus :—b. *Grynæum*¹, *Grynîa*, with a temple of Apollo², where the twelve Ionian cities³ celebrated a common festival to the god :—c. We may here mention *Smyrna*, which originally belonged to the Æolians; and *Mitylene*, in the Isle of Lesbos—their principal settlement, where magistrates (*Æsymnetæ*) were chosen with absolute power, like the Roman dictators—in pressing emergencies. Neither must we forget *Tenedos*, and the cluster of islands called the *Hecaton Nesoi*, or Hundred Islands.⁴

The district of Ionia was the most fertile of these settlements, and was watered by the well known streams : the *Pactolus*,⁵ with its golden sand; *Hermus*, now Sarabat; *Meles*, near Smyrna; *Cayster*, near Ephesus, whose swans have afforded one of the most beautiful comparisons in the *Iliad*,⁶ and the *Mæander*, distinguished by its numerous windings.⁷ Herodotus remarks, that the Ionians had built cities in the finest climate, and in the most beautiful situations, of all men with whom he was acquainted; and that the countries on all sides of Ionia were oppressed by cold and humidity on the one hand, or heat and drought on the other.⁸ Amongst the principal cities forming the Ionian league, we may mention :—a. *Smyrna*, now Ismir, situated on the Meles, and one of those cities which claimed to be the birth-place of Homer, who, consequently, bears

¹ Γρύνεα, Γρύνειον.

² Grynæus Apollo.—*V. Æn.* iv. 345.

³ In several districts of Greece (as well as Egypt, Etruria, &c.), there existed confederacies of twelve towns. The number is significant, and was perhaps a political application of astronomical observations, and borrowed from the twelve months of the year.—*Wachsmuth*, vol. i. 167.

⁴ Ἑκατὸν νῆσοι.

⁵ The particles of gold were washed down from Mount Tmolus.

⁶ *Il.* ii. v. 460.

⁷ Hence we speak of “Mæandering streams;” and hence *Mæander* is used for a maze of any description.

“—Chlamydem auratam, quam plurima circum

Purpura Mæandro duplici Melibœa cucurrit.”—*V. Æn.* v. 250.

⁸ *Her.* i. c. 142.

the title of *Melesigenes*,¹ "born near the Meles:"—b. *Phocæa*, which found *Massilia* (Marseilles) on the coast of Gaul, and introduced the vine and the olive:—c. *Colophon*, celebrated for its naval power and irresistible cavalry; hence the proverb *Κολοφῶνα ἐπιτιθέναι*, "to add a Colophonian," i. e. to put a finishing hand to an affair:²—d. *Ephesus* (Aja Saluk) famed for its beautiful temple of Diana, burnt by Herostratus on the night in which Alexander was born (p. 352). Ephesus was very favourably situated for commercial intercourse with the interior of western Asia:—e. *Priene*, the birth-place of Bias, one of the seven wise men:—f. *Miletus*, second only to Ephesus in prosperity, and the birth-place of the philosophers Thales and Anaximander; of the orator Æschines, and the courtesan Aspasia. Miletus was the great *depot* for eastern wares, whilst she monopolized almost the whole of the northern trade by her settlements on the Black sea and the *Palus Mæotis*:—g. *Magnesia*, on the Mæander, near which Antiochus was defeated by the Romans:—h. *Teos*, where Anacreon sung: "the Scian and the Teian muse." The assemblies of the Ionian league were held in a temple, bearing the name of *Panionium*, on the promontory of Mycale. But generally speaking, these colonies were not only independent of each other, but often engaged in mutual hostilities. Though the name of Ionians was almost peculiar to them, yet they contained a large intermixture of Abantes, Minyæ, Arcadians, &c.³ The Ionian colonies were established under the sons of Codrus about 1044 B. C.

The Dorians had only two important cities on this coast:—a. *Halicarnassus*, the birth-place of the historians Herodotus and Dionysius. It was once the residence of the

¹ Seven cities contended about the birth of this poet:—

Smyrna, Rhodus, Colophon, Salamis, Chios, Argos, Athenæ.

² Hence, in the early periods of printing, the place and date of an edition being printed at the end of the book, was called *Colophon*; so from "title page to Colophon," from the beginning to the end of the work.

³ See *Hermann*, p. 43.

Ionian kings; and here Artemisia erected the celebrated Mausoleum:—b. *Cnidus*, on Cape Triopium, containing the celebrated statue of Venus, the master-piece of Praxiteles. These two cities, with the island of Cos, and the three cities of Rhodes, Lindus, and Jalysus, formed the Dorian *Hexapolis*.¹

These Greek cities of Asia Minor, and particularly Miletus, sent forth numerous colonies to the coasts of Thrace, the *Propontis*² (sea of Marmara), and the Black sea, planting them on appropriate forelands, peninsulas, and in secured and sheltered creeks and channels. As the most important we may mention *Heraclea* and *Byzantium* in Thrace; *Abidos* and *Lampsacos* on the Hellespont; *Chalcēdon* (Scutari) and *Cyzicus*³ on the Propontis; *Heraclea* on the Bithynian coast; *Sinōpe*, in Paphlagonia, the birth-place of Diogenes; *Trapēzus*⁴ (Trebisond), founded by Sinope, on the southern coast of the Black sea, &c. *Dioscurias* (Iscuria) in Colchis, was the great emporium of the Caucasian nations; no less than 300 languages might be heard in its marts.⁵ The Milesians penetrated even as far as the *Palus Mæotis* (sea of Azof), and at the mouth of the *Borysthēnes* (Dnieper), in the neighbourhood of the modern Oczakoff we meet with *Olbia*, a Milesian settlement. Thus there was not a single nation dwelling around the Pontus to which the Greeks had not found access. On the Macedonian coast we meet with *Olynthus* and *Potidæa*, considerable colonies, the latter from Corinth.

Many Greek settlements were also established on the distant island of *Cyprus*, which lies betwixt Asia Minor and Egypt, yet nearer the Cilician coast. As this island was

¹ i.e. Six cities, ἑξ, πόλεις.

² Under the term *Hellespont*, the ancients understood first, the straits of Propontis, then the coast on the European and Asiatic side, and sometimes the coasts of the whole Propontis.

³ The ancient coins of the place, called *Κυζικηνοὶ σαρῆρες*, were so beautifully executed, that they were deemed a miracle of art. Florus calls the city the Rome of Asia.—*Anthion*.

⁴ Τραπεζοῦς.

⁵ *Strabo*, ii. 497, 498.

consecrated to Venus, hence she bears the epithet of *Cypria*. As it was celebrated for its copper mines, hence we have the Latin name of the metal, *cuprum*.¹ Amongst the cities of the island we may mention :—a. *Palæ-Paphos* (ancient Paphos), and b. *Neo-Paphos* (now Baffa), particularly dedicated to the worship of Venus; hence she bears the epithet *Paphia* :—c. Cyprus is called *Chittim* in the Hebrew scriptures, from the name of its metropolis, *Citium*, the birth-place of Zeno, founder of the Stoic school of philosophy. Cimon died when besieging this city (p. 198) :—d. *Salamis*, founded by Teucer, son of Telamon, upon his return from the Trojan war (p. 115). Cyprus bears the epithets of *Macaria*, or the fortunate isle, from its fertility, &c.; *Colinia*, from its many hills; *Cerastia*, from the number of its capes;² and *Ærosa*, from its copper mines.

The Greeks had also made some important settlements in Africa, a quarter of the globe excluded, as it would appear to be, from European civilization. *Cyrene* (Grenna), on the northern coast of Africa, was famed for its three crops, hides, horses, and silphium; from it the whole district received the name of “Cyrenaica.” United with four other cities (*Pentapolis*), it formed a considerable principedom. It struggled against the Pharaohs with varying success, afterwards became tributary to the Persians, then assumed a republican form of government; at one time distracted by internal feuds, and at another oppressed by tyrants, till its limits were abridged by Carthage, and it was finally converted into an Egyptian province by the Ptolemies. It was the birth-place of Aristippus the philosopher, and Callimachus the poet, and continued for a long time the commercial rival of Carthage. *Apollonia* was the harbour of Cyrene.

We shall now speak of the Greek colonies in Italy and

¹ Foreign merchant vessels in the Homeric age brought iron to Italy to obtain a cargo of copper (*Odys.* i. 184). To the copper mines of Tuscany was added the produce of the mines in Cyprus; the influx of which into Italy is attested by the Latin name of copper (*cuprum*). Niebuhr, ii. p. 622.

² Κίρας, cornu.

Sicily. As the Greeks were addicted to commerce and navigation, they settled here, as in all other countries,¹ upon the coast, and left the interior to be occupied by the ancient inhabitants (p. 118). So extensive were their settlements in lower Italy, that it received the name of *Magna Græcia*.² The most important cities were:—a. *Tarentum*, founded by the *Parthenii*, or Spartan emigrants, under the conduct of Phalantus, on the gulf of the same name³ (p. 130). It was the birth-place of the mathematician Archytas. The war, which they supported against the Romans, with the assistance of Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, is celebrated in history:—b. *Sybaris*, on the Tarentine gulf. Like Tarentum,⁴ it became wealthy and luxurious; hence the term “Sybarite,” was considered synonymous with “voluptuary.”⁵ It was totally destroyed (446 B. C.), but rebuilt by the Athenians and other Greek cities, under the name of *Thurii*. Charondas is celebrated as a legislator of Thurii:—c. *Croton*, to the south of Sybaris, the birth-place of Milo, the wrestler, and celebrated for the secret political association established by Pythagoras:—d. On the extreme point of the eastern coast, we meet with the *Locri Epizephyrii*.⁶ Their chief city, *Locri*, was celebrated for its legislator Zaleucus, a

¹ “Coloniarum verò quæ est deducta a Graiis in Asiam, Thraciam, Italiam, Siciliam, Africam, præter unam Magnesiam, quam unda non abluat.”—*Cic. de Rep.* ii. 4. What Greek colony, with the single exception of Magnesia, is not washed by the sea or by rivers?

² Livy (7, 26) calls Greece proper, *Græcia ulterior*, and a slave in Plautus calls the Greeks in Italy, *Græcia Exotica* (*Menæch.* ii. 1, 12).

³ Lacedæmonium Tarentum.—*Hor.*

⁴ *Molle* (*Hor. Sat.* 2, 4, 34). *Imbelle* (*Id. Ep.* i. 7, 45).

⁵ Paupertas Romana perit; hinc fluxit ad istos

Et Sybaris colles, hinc et Rhodos et Miletos

Atque coronatum et petulans madidumque Tarentum.

Juv. 6, 295-7.

On *coronatum* and *madidum*, see *Rom. Ant.* p. 328-9. The Sybarites presumptuously attempted to institute within their own territory national games in lieu of the Olympic.—*Heracle. Pont. ap. Athen.* 12. 522.

⁶ At a little distance from the promontory of Hercules, we have the promontory *Zephyrium*, so named, because it had a harbour exposed to the west winds (*Strabo*, vi. 259), near which was the city *Locri*, hence called *Locri Epizephyrii*.—*Dr. Adam.*

disciple of Pythagoras, who flourished about 660 B. C. He enacted that any attempt to propose new laws should be treated as a capital offence:—e. *Rhegium*¹ (Reggio), near the straits of Sicily, was colonized by emigrants from Chalcis in Eubœa:—f. *Hyela*, or *Elea*, afterwards *Velia*; *Posidonia*, afterwards *Pæstum*; *Parthenope*, afterwards *Neapolis*² (Naples), were but of little importance:—g. *Cumæ* was colonized from Eubœa.³

We meet with the following Greek cities in Sicily:—a. *Zancle*, afterwards *Messina*: b. *Naxos*, afterwards *Taurinum*, which established, c. *Catana*, near the foot of Mount Ætna, and d. *Leontium* (Leontini), which was enabled to vie with Syracuse: e. *Megara*, at an earlier period *Hybla*, was a Doric colony, famous for its honey and bees (*Hyblææ apes*).

Syracuse (now Siragoza), a colony of the Corinthians, was the most powerful city in Sicily, and possessed two excellent harbours. The city was divided into four districts, *Ortygia*, *Acradina*, *Tycha*, and *Neapolis*, to which some add a fifth division,⁴ called *Epipolæ*,⁵ because it overlooked the city. The whole was encompassed with a triple wall, and flanked with towers and castles at proper distances. Syracuse attained such an elevation under Gelon and his successor Hiero I, that after the re-establishment of the democracy, it was able to take a prominent part in the Peloponnesian war, and to annihilate under its walls the most

¹ From *ρήγνυμι*, to break (*Strabo* 6, 258). *A rumpendo* (*Festus*), because Sicily was said to have been disjoined from Italy by an earthquake—"Venit medio vi pontus et undis Hesperium Siculo latus abscidit.—*Virg. Æn.* iii. 417, 418; *Mazocchi*, p. 550, asserts that it should be called *Regium*.

² i. e. *New city*, so called because it was colonized a second time by Chalcidians, Athenians, &c.—See *Strabo*, v. p. 377.

³ Hence the *Cumæa Sibylla* of Virgil is called by Statius, *Euboica Sibylla*, and her verses *Chalcidicum carmen*, from Chalcis in Eubœa. *Cumæos in annos vivere*, to live to the age of a sibyl.—*Ov. Pont.* 2. 8. 41.

⁴ Πεντάπολις (*Strabo*, vi. p. 415). The walls were 180 stadia in length.—*Ibid.* ⁵ Ἐπὶ πόλιν.—*Thuc.* 6. 96.

powerful fleets and armies ever equipped by the Athenians (pp. 240-244). As Syracuse took the side of the Carthaginians in the second Punic war, it fell into the hands of the Romans, after a three years' siege (B.C. 212). The machines employed by the Syracusans for annoying the enemy were invented by *Archimēdes*. Among other applications of science, he is said to have fired the Roman fleet by means of reflecting mirrors, or "burning glasses;" the credibility of which story has been proved by Buffon and other philosophers. Syracuse was also the birth-place of Theocritus, the pastoral poet.

To these cities we may add :—a. *Camarina*, on the southern coast of the island :—b. *Gela*, on a river of the same name, a Doric colony from Rhodes (690 B.C.) :—c. *Agragas*, afterwards *Agrigentum*, now Girgenti, founded by the Ionians; the birth-place of Empedocles, who, as some say, flung himself into *Ætna*, in order that his death might be unknown, and he might pass for a god :—d. *Selinus*, on a river of the same name. It is sufficient barely to mention the fertility of *Magna Græcia*; and the exuberant soil of Sicily, which, in many cases, produced a hundred fold, soon exhibited a picture of that rich abundance which, in later times, caused that beautiful island to be entitled the granary of Rome.¹ Besides the Greek colonies already mentioned in Gaul, we meet with one on the eastern coast of Spain, *Saguntum*, founded by the Zacynthians.

In this catalogue of Grecian colonies, those of Asia Minor (*Natolia*) were by far the most important. The expedition to Troy had made the Greeks acquainted with its coasts. The fertility of the soil, and the salubriousness of the climate, had become immortal in the songs of the earliest bards. This exerted a powerful influence upon the emigrating tribes. The Grecian colonies sought by every means in their power to preserve peace with the neighbour-

¹ *Diodorus*, l. xvi; *Gillies*, c. xi.

ing barbarians, even though it required to be purchased with a tribute, as was the case on the Cimmerian Bosphorus. But in their commercial intercourse they took measures to prevent their collision; hence the frontier-markets, Epidamnus and Halicarnassus. We find that a *timocracy*, or that form of government which connects political functions and liabilities with a *property qualification*, was as common in the colonies as unusual in the mother country, and appears to have produced the best results, in those instances where a mixed population found itself without that common bond of union which is formed by hereditary rights and customs.¹

¹ See *Wachsmuth*, vol. i. p. 211; *Hermann*, p. 170.

LITERATURE OF GREECE.

Epic Poetry ; Homer—Cyclic Poets—History ; the Logographi, Herodotus, Thucydides—Tragedy ; Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides—Comedy ; Aristophanes.

AMONGST all the nations of antiquity, the Greeks are the only people who can be said to have created an original and independent literature—whose writers have left us works in history, poetry, philosophy, and eloquence, which can be considered as models in their respective departments. Notwithstanding the irruption of the northern barbarians, the destruction of the Alexandrian library, and the anti-Hellenic spirit which prevailed during the darker ages—enough remains to confirm this position ; for “the most valuable productions of the greatest geniuses of all times, Time has not annihilated.” By the Greeks every department of human knowledge, however fragmentary and isolated, was reduced to a scientific form and connexion, and based upon universal and enduring principles. Besides, among no other people did so many causes unite to accelerate the progress of art and science : a climate mild and beautiful ; a form of government singularly adapted to develop the energies of the human mind ; an extensive commerce with all the more civilized nations of antiquity ; and various inducements to visit and explore distant countries ; and, above all, a due appreciation of, and a suitable recompence for, the results of literary labour. The general diffusion of their national language and colonies, rendered at once the greatest amount

of information accessible to the reflecting inquirer. The poet, no less than the hero whom he celebrated, had frequent opportunities of seeing "many men and cities," and remarking their essential characters.

Within the second century¹ after the destruction of Troy, the distractions of the mother-country, and the pressure of a redundant population, induced numerous bodies of Greeks to emigrate to Asia Minor, and form settlements on the coasts of Lydia and Caria, as well as the adjacent islands, distinguished by their fertility, and abounding in commodious harbours. The exercise of a discreet policy, and the manifestations of superior energy, enabled them to establish themselves firmly in the vicinity of nations which, though sunk into a state of abject servitude, had carried Asiatic luxury to the highest pitch of refinement. These colonies soon outstripped the mother-country in opulence, power, and civilization. The Ionians were always distinguished by their extreme susceptibility—great mobility of imagination—a strong attraction to whatever was strange and marvellous—a fondness for the song and the dance, and a consequent tendency to embody their feelings and conceptions in outward representations. Over the imaginations of such a people the relics of earlier history exercise a powerful influence, especially if that history be brilliant, and the spirit of clanship, and the love of ancestral glory, induce them to view, through a poetical medium, the magnified and distorted events of preceding times. And what greater event could present itself to the imagination of the Ionian than the *Trojan expedition*, which had been so remarkable during its continuance, and so fatal in its consequences, particularly when he found himself in the immediate vicinity of the ruins of Troy—the fields on which the heroes fought—the trophies of their victories, and their sepulchral monuments?

Though the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are the oldest monuments

¹ 140 years according to the usual reckoning (1184—1044 B. C.). See *Clinton*, p. iii—viii. 2nd ed.

of Greek *Epic poetry* now existing; yet, previous to the appearance of HOMER and the Homeridæ, others had sung the achievements of the heroes before Troy, and the wanderings of the Greek princes on their return home. Soon after the destruction of Troy, the Epic singers appear to have begun to celebrate the bravery of Achilles, the wisdom of Nestor, and the experienced cunning of Ulysses. It was not necessary that the Trojan war should be ancient in order to afford matter for the Epic muse. Modern poetry cannot, indeed, treat recent subjects or events in an Epic form; but this does not arise from the subjects or events being recent, but from their unpoetical character. And as the ancient singer was practically acquainted with the objects of his descriptions, the battles, games, countries, cities, voyages, kings, and shepherds—he could descend to the minutest details, either of nature or of life. Hence he can individualize both form and character. He has not to deal with uniform masses consisting of numbers but not of men; his kings meet each other on the field of battle, and fight man to man, and we become as familiar with his heroes as if we had met them on the plains of Troy.

Hence, whatever scepticism may exist as to the historical or geographical statements of Homer, it is unquestionable that he gives us a correct picture of the manners and usages existing in *his own* time; “for the national poet, who arises during the youth of a nation, is generally identified with, and held in subjection by the present. It must have been as remote from his design, as it is absurd in itself, to describe in a popular poem, which was destined to perpetuate the life and actions of the fathers in the remembrance of the sons, ideal constitutions and purely fictitious manners and customs, works of art, &c. in lieu of the usages and objects of their own country. Thus the gods in the heroic age were drawn after the models of the illustrious Greeks;¹ hence

¹ *Arist. Pol.* i. 7.

Homer is acquainted with the wonders and monsters of other regions, but not with foreign political institutions and manners. He, indeed, calls the heroes different from the men of his time,¹ and characterizes the latter as a race of beings inferior in physical strength.² This is a notion which he shares with the whole human race, and is displayed as such when the heroes themselves, in their turn, extol the age of their fathers."³ And, in fact, the very clearness, precision, and circumstantiality of his descriptions, would at once lead us to the conclusion that Homer was not communicating to us the fruits of historical or antiquarian research, but was describing the actual scenes of *social* life, by which he was surrounded; in the same manner as the truth of his *natural* scenes is recognized by the voyager who steers along the *Ægean*.

It is quite conformable, therefore, to the spirit of his age and his poetry, that Homer introduces Ulysses as listening, on foreign shores, to songs which celebrate the achievements of himself and other heroes under the walls of Troy.⁴ Scarcely have ten years flown since the destruction of Troy, before Phemius is represented as singing to the suitors of Penelope the melancholy return of the Achæans;⁵ for "mortals listen with the greatest pleasure to that which sounds newest to the ears." And it is only the supposition of the existence of Ante-Homeric poems embracing the same topics as the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, which can render it conceivable why Homer should at once hurry us into the middle of his story; a peculiarity which has been already remarked by Aristotle as characteristic of his poems.⁶ The bard, in the heroic age, was, in fact, a character which society could not dispense with. He wandered from city to city, everywhere receiving due honour as

¹ *Oloi vñv ßporoi eìoi.*

² *Il.* ii. 210; v. 747; xi. 41.

³ *Wachsmuth*, vol. i. Appendix iv.

⁴ *Od.* ß. 75. 500.

⁵ *Od.* a. 325, 352.

⁶ *Arist. Poet.* c. 8 and 13; *Hor. Epist. ad Pis.* 146; *Eustath. ad Il.* a. 1.

one that was inspired by Jove; and his profession was recognized as distinct as that of the "seer, the physician, or the architect."¹ As he was admitted indiscriminately to the banquets of kings, and the festivals of the gods, "for dance and song are the ornaments of the feast," it was requisite for him that he should be acquainted with "many soothing tales;" and it was the daily object of his art to "delight gods and men." The unsettled turbulence of rising states, the foundation and destruction of cities, the establishment of colonies, the origin of new superstitions, as well as the imaginary legends which supported the old, furnished copious materials for many a wondrous song. These materials being eagerly embraced by the choice, were embellished by the fancy of the early bards, who, continually rehearsing them to their contemporaries, had an opportunity of remarking, in their approbation or dislike, the circumstances necessary to be added, taken away, or altered, in order to give their productions the happiest effect, and the highest degree of strength and beauty.²

The epic poetry of the Ionians must be considered, therefore, not so much the casual production of individual minds, as the reflex image of the Ionian mode of life, and fully expressing the character of a people who may be described as "pleased with the present, careless of the future, and forgetful of the past, ever ready for action, and equally removed from gloomy superstition and anxiety."³ The

¹ Od. p. 385 sq.

Μάντιν ἢ ἱερῆρα κακῶν, ἢ τέκτονα δοῦρων,
ἢ καὶ θίσκιν ἀοιδόν, ὃ κεν τέρπῃσιν αἰείδων;

The *ῥαψῳδός* is distinguished from the *ἀοιδός*, or 'Singer.' Antiquiores rhapsodiam i. e. Rhapsodorum operam epicorumque carminum recitationem a citharædiâ, tragædiâ, comædiâ, chorædiâ, aliisque id genus distinguunt, *ῥαψῳδῆσαι* vero dicunt omnes qui æquabile carmen perpetuo flumine (*ῥάπτειν ἀοιδῆν*) memoriter declamant. —Nitzsch de Hist. Hom. p. 138.

² Gillies, c. vi.

³ "Qui læti præsentiis, futurorum securi, prompti ad agendum, actorum immemores, sollicitudinis et superstitionis causas procul habebant."

Ionic dialect, with all its flexibility and variety of expression and forms, was the proper organ of epic poetry; and it may be considered as representing, more faithfully than any other dialect, the primeval language of the Greek race. And hence we may understand how the grammarians have found much in the Homeric dialect which was subsequently strange even to the Ionians themselves, though the curious might still detect its preservation in the inferior provincial dialects. As the Ionic dialect is the proper organ of epic poetry, so is the free and flowing Hexameter of Homer (so totally different from that which was established by later rules of art) the proper organ of the Ionic dialect. The Homeric Hexameter was not a matter of chance or selection; the Dactylic *Rhythmus* was as necessary to the old Ionic language, as the Trochaic or Iambic is to ours.

Even the metrical quantity of the syllables was no impediment to the rhapsodist. As he was assisted by a harp, the power of the musical accent, strengthened by the accompaniment of the dance and gesticulation, might convert short syllables into long; for, in some instances, we find as many as eight short syllables following each other consecutively.¹ We must recollect, therefore, that the poems of Homer were originally composed not to be read, but to be *sung* and listened to. Hence the constant repetition of particular phrases and epithets—the light and graceful turn of the sentences as effected by a multitude of particles to us apparently unmeaning, yet giving support and continuity to the recitation—the frequent recurrence and transposition of verses and half-verses, allowing time for further thought to the improvising rhapsodist, yet still filling the ears of the audience with agreeable music and repetitions. The struc-

¹ Il. ε. 745. θ. 389. Ἐς δ' ὄχρα φλόγεα ποσὶ βήσεο. Where the musical accent could give no assistance, short syllables were sometimes converted into long by the grammatical—for instance, the accentuated iota in ὑποδείξῃ, ἀθεμιστή, ὑπεροπλήσει κ. τ. λ. Hence the orthography of words has been modified by the musical accent, as Ὀδυσσεύς, Ὀδυσσεύς; ἔην, ἤην, ἤεν, ἦν; ἔσειαι, ἔσειαι, ἔση, κ. τ. λ.

ture of his language and verse permitted no pause or intermission to the rhapsodist. He was borne along irresistibly on 'winged words,' and the waves of song.

With respect to the personal history of Homer, we may be said absolutely to know nothing. Even the age in which he flourished (though 900 B.C., may be assumed as the most probable), and the place of his nativity (though Smyrna or Chios prefers the best claims), were never established among the ancients. Modern scepticism has only added to the confusion. The individuality of the author of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* has been doubted; and even his name has been considered, not as the distinctive appellation of an individual, but as the general epithet of a poetical artist.¹ The origin and diffusion of his poems have been connected with the question about the origin of alphabetical writing; and it has been contended, that alphabetical writing was not introduced into Greece earlier than the age of Lycurgus, and was then only used for monumental inscriptions. The unity of his poems, which has been so strongly insisted upon by Aristotle, has been detected to be imaginary rather than real. Numerous interpolations of the rhapsodists who recited them at festivals and banquets have been discovered, not to mention the frequent falsifications of the *Diaskeuastæ*, who undertook their recension at various periods. In the same manner as we talk about a 'school' of painting, the unity which the Homeric poems may be supposed to possess, has been ascribed to a 'school' of Homeric singers furnishing their respective contributions, or to the skilful dovetailing of some ingenious *littérateur*, who flourished in the age of Pisistratus.

Turning away from such speculations, curious rather than

¹ Thus Ilgen :—"Homeri nomen, si rectè video, derivandum est ex ὁμῶ et ἄρω, unde ὁμηρεῖν et ὁμηρεῦναι, accinere, succinere, i. e. ὑπαιδιδέναι. Apud Hesiodum certe Theogon. 39 legimus φωνῇ ὁμηρεῦσαι. Et Hesychius ὁμηρεῦσαι interpretatur ὁμοφωνοῦσαι, ὁμῶ λέγουσαι, et ὁμηρεῦναι, συμφωνεῖν. "Ὅμηρος ergo est, ut cum Ovidio loquor, per quem concordant carmina nervis, poeta, cantor, qui citharam pulsans ὑπὸ καλὸν ἀείδει.—Præf. ad Hymn. Homer. p. x.

profitable, it may be conceded that considerable discrepancy, both in style and method of handling, as well as verbal peculiarities, may be observed between the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. But this discrepancy may be ascribed to the different nature of the subjects—the interval which may have elapsed between the composition of the two poems—the greater age at which Homer may be supposed to have composed the *Odyssey*—mature reflection having succeeded to the impetuosity of a youthful and fervid imagination. Hence Aristotle¹ characterizes the *Iliad* as “simple, and dealing with passions;” the *Odyssey* as “complex, and dealing with manners;” and Longinus compares the one to the mid-day, and the other to the setting sun, for the *Odyssey* still preserves its original splendour, though deprived of its meridian heat. Sensible of this distinction in the tone of the two poems, the rhapsodists are said to have recited the *Iliad* in garments of a red colour, and the *Odyssey* in garments of a violet colour.²

It may fairly be presumed that poetry among all nations is more ancient than prose; for poetry is the language of the imagination, and the imagination, whether in a nation or in individuals, is developed earlier than the reason. Besides, poetry, from the extent to which it can increase the powers of a language by figurative expressions and applications, can avail itself, better than prose, of a language that is limited in its resources, and has received no expansion from the multiplied demands of social intercourse. The *Cyclic* poets may be considered as forming the link of transition between poetry and prose. Such were Eumelus, Thamyris, Eugamon, Arctinus of Miletus, &c. They selected for the subjects of their productions things transacted as well during the Trojan war, as before and after. They confined themselves within a certain round or cycle³ of fable—expanding into distinct poems, what had been briefly or incidentally

¹ *Post. c. 24.* Ἀπλοῦν καὶ παθητικόν, πεπλεγμένον καὶ ἡθικόν.

² *Eustath. Schol. ad. Il. a. 1.*

³ Κύκλος, *circulus*.

mentioned by Homer, as the battles of the Titans and giants, the exploits of Hercules, and the adventures of the heroes on their return from the Trojan expedition.¹

The first historians, or "chroniclers" (*logographi*), naturally employed the Epic and Cyclic poets as their authorities, connecting with them, perhaps, the use of local traditions and existing monuments. Such were Cadmus of Miletus, Hecataeus, Pherecydes, and Hellanicus. Though Cadmus, who wrote on the antiquities of his native city,² was the first, according to Isocrates, who bore the title of 'sophist,' by which appellation was then meant "an eloquent man," we cannot presume that the "chroniclers," in general, attained either to accuracy in detail, or to skill in execution. They were, in fact, mere collectors of traditions,³ without criticism or observation; and their works would present a geographical,⁴ rather than an historical unity. That their style was poetical, may be inferred from the circumstance, that they frequently drew upon the poets for their materials, and that they belonged to a period in which poetical and figurative expressions were still universally current. "At first," says Strabo, "poetry was only in request; afterwards, in imitation of that, Cadmus, Pherecydes, and Hecataeus wrote their histories, observing all the other laws of poetry except its measures. But by degrees writers began to take greater liberty, and so brought it down from its lofty strain to the form now in use; as the comic strain is nothing else but a depressing the sublimer style of tragedy."⁵

It could not be expected that the art of historical composition would make much progress, as long as it was confined to traditionary history. By the Epic and Cyclic poets, the traditions had already been invested with whatever was interesting or attractive; and nothing remained to the

¹ Νόστοι.

² Κρίσεις Μιλήτου καὶ Ἰωνίας.

³ Hence they were also termed *Mythographi*. Cadmus flourished about 520 B. C.

⁴ Ἱστορίας κατ' ἔθνη καὶ κατὰ πόλεις διαιροῦντες.—*Dion. Hal.*

⁵ *Strabo*, lib. i.

chronicler, but to give the traditions in a connected series—to apportion them to their respective tribes and districts, thereby indicating, in an indirect manner, their relation to actual life. To have attempted to deduce an historical meaning from the historical tradition (*mythus*) would have been useless, for neither the chronicler nor the reader, who reposed implicit belief in the tradition, felt the necessity of any explanation; and even if they had, the tradition ascended to so early a period, that it was impossible to discover the historical element in the darkness of antiquity.

But a time was fast approaching, when the present would obtain the ascendancy over the past; and the interest awakened by contemporary events would supersede that which was attached to traditionary history. This was the era of the Persian wars, a period crowded with events of national importance, which developed the resources of the Greek states, and fixed them in that relative position which they subsequently maintained towards each other and the barbarians. Asia had been precipitated upon Europe; and the glorious struggle in which the Greeks had successfully rolled back the tide of invasion, has been delineated for us in the simple, yet graphic pages of HERODOTUS. "Herodotus breathes the genuine spirit of antiquity. He was wisely ordained to effect the difficult and delicate transition from the mythic to the historical. He has performed his office with pre-eminent skill, and has passed the golden chain to his successors, as he received it from the hands of *him* who took it up at its origin—the throne of the Olympian Jove. He is the beautiful Ionic bridge of nine arches, by which we pass from the heroic ages to the times of wonderful men—of Plato, Pericles, Demosthenes, and the other worthies who flourished at different periods of the Athenian republic, but are seen clustering together at the distance we now regard them."

Herodotus was born at Halicarnassus, in Caria, 484 B.C. As his native city laboured under the tyranny of Lygdamis,

he fled to Samos, from whence he undertook his extensive travels to Egypt, Macedonia, Thrace, and other countries, and collected materials for his history. Subsequently, upon his return, he emigrated with an Athenian colony to Thurium in Italy, where he lived to witness the Peloponnesian war. He is reported to have publicly repeated his '*History*' at the Olympic games (445 B.C.), and afterwards at Athens during the festival of the Panathenæa. His history comprises the *wars of the Persians against the Greeks*, from the age of Cyrus to the battle of Mycale, in the reign of Xerxes—including, besides, an account of the most celebrated nations in the world, particularly the Lydians and Egyptians. It is written in the Ionic dialect—a dialect which had been set apart for historical composition by the ancient chroniclers. It is divided into nine books; but the circumstance of their being named after the nine muses, must be ascribed to a later period.

Herodotus, as we have already observed, forms the connecting link between logography and history. The first five books of his history, including the most interesting notices, whether mythical or historical, of the various people and countries which he visited, resemble rather a work of travels than a proper history. With a child-like curiosity, he appears to have inquired into all things, and described whatever was most worthy of notice. He does not aspire to the character of a philosophical historian, by investigating deeply the structure of political society, the causes of political revolutions, or by delineating the characters of the leading personages who influenced the destinies of the human race during the period of his narrative. Like an ancient painter, ignorant of art or perspective, he represents all things according to their outward appearance and proportions. Hence his *naïve* and candid manner everywhere bears the evident impress of truth; yet his work contains much that is inconsistent with history. Many things, deemed fabulous and unhistorical by succeeding writers, might be narrated by

Herodotus, under the conviction of their perfect adaptation to the taste of the Greeks, who, whether in history or philosophy, preferred whatever was extraordinary, wonderful, or poetical, to the simple and literal truth.¹ Or might we not rather affirm, that Herodotus himself was strongly imbued with the spirit of his age and nation. Born beneath the beautiful sky of Ionia, the native land of Greek myths and the Homeric muse, it could hardly be expected that, with its lovely songs and fables sounding in his ears, he could entirely abjure the mythico-poetical character of his country. This character does not consist in the style of his narrative, for that is simple throughout, and devoid of poetical elevation; neither does it consist in the histories or episodes which he interweaves into his work; but it consists in the entire spirit which his work breathes in every word; not in his own individual poetical talent, but in the poetical feeling of the age itself to which he belonged.²

Herodotus might, therefore, with propriety, be characterized as the Epic writer of history; and his work might be styled the *Persiad*, as Homer's poem on the wrath of Achilles is styled the *Iliad*. If unity be characteristic of the epic poem, for the ancients esteemed no work either beautiful or perfect without unity—then may Herodotus, who has digested the history of so many nations, with their various laws, manners, and institutions,³ into one harmonious whole, lay claim to that praise. In order to temper the gravity of historical composition, and present an agreeable relief to the reader, Herodotus has imitated the Epic poets, in interspersing his narrative with numerous episodes

¹ Thucydides (i. 21), in speaking of this as the characteristic failing of the *logographi*, may indirectly allude to Herodotus—ὡς λογογράφοι ἐυνέθεσαν ἐπὶ τὸ προσαγωγότερον τῇ ἀκροάσει ἢ ἀληθέστερον, κ. τ. λ.

² Compare *Ulrici, Charakteristik der antiken Historiographie*, p. 34, seqq.

³ Πολλὰς καὶ οὐδὲν ἱοικνίας ὑποθέσεις προειλομένῳ, συμβέβηκε σύμφωνον ἐν σώμα πεποιηκέναι.—*Dion. Hal.* vi. p. 774; *Ed. Reiske.*

and digressions.¹ He resembles them still more closely in introducing the continuous agency of the gods. Oracles, prophecies, and divinations, exerted an important influence on the legislation, colonization, and, in fact, every undertaking of the Greeks, whether civil or military. No less true to the character of his age, than of Epic poetry which abounds with similar examples, Herodotus has connected the fate of individuals and nations with an almost uninterrupted series of oracles, extending from that which vainly rebuked Croesus² inflated with prosperity, to the prophecy of Bacis,³ which foretold the overthrow of the Persians at Plataeæ. Nemesis, the goddess who avenges the insolence of inordinate prosperity, is everywhere mixed up with the fall of kings,⁴ and may be said to usurp the same province as Jupiter and the other gods in the *Iliad*, Neptune in the *Odyssey*, or the inexpiable anger of Juno in the *Æneid*. Herodotus everywhere sees a jealous divinity attending individuals and empires, to the height of their elevation, in order to precipitate them into the abyss; and, in this, he has adumbrated a general truth, that, though individuals may appear to escape punishment, because they are imperceptible points, yet nations, in the aggregate, never.

THUCYDIDES, son of Olorus, an Athenian, was born 591 B. C.—forty years before the commencement of the Peloponnesian war. He was educated by Anaxagoras, the philosopher, and Antiphon, the orator—the latter of whom he considers as “second in virtue to no man then living, and endowed with the greatest vigour of thought and expression.”⁵ During the Peloponnesian war, Thucydides was commissioned by the Athenians to relieve Amphipolis; but, being unsuccessful, on account of the rapid movements of

¹ Πουκίλην ἐβουλήθη ποιῆσαι τὴν γραφὴν, Ὀμήρου ζῆλωτος γινόμενος.—*Id.* in *Epist. ad Pompei.* p. 772. 3. *Ed. Reiske.*

² *Herod.* i. 32. Cf. 91.

³ *Herod.* ix. 43. Cf. *Valcken.* p. 655.

⁴ Ἐλαβεν ἐκ θεοῦ Νίμεις μεγάλην Κροίσου.—*Herod.* i. 34.

⁵ *Thucyd.* viii. 68. See p. 250.

Brasidas, the Lacedæmonian, he was obliged to go into exile. He retired to Scaptesyle, in Thrace, where he had some property in mines; and there he composed his *History of the Peloponnesian War*. His narrative, being interrupted by his death, only comprises twenty-one years of that eventful period. It is divided into eight books; but the imperfectness and inferiority of the last would lead us to suppose that the death of the historian had prevented a careful revision.

As an historian, Thucydides may be contrasted rather than compared with Herodotus. In him the mythico-poetical spirit is no longer discernible; he may be considered as the founder of historical criticism. He justly charges the majority of preceding historians with a distaste for rigorous investigation—a consequent proneness to adopt all popular errors, and to adulterate history by rendering it captivating to the imagination. If truth be the great object of historical research, then may Thucydides be pronounced as the model of an historian; for no man was more scrupulous about the authenticity of his materials. The valuable introduction to his history, shows us that the most intelligent of the Greeks knew nothing about the early history of his country. It contains no ingenious development and connexion of *myths*; it does not treat the ancient legends as legitimate sources of historical inquiry; but it does contain, in addition to many sound observations, a beautiful application of special facts and poetical passages to the general purposes of history.

Thucydides, no less than Herodotus, is characterized by perfect impartiality; and, if he felt any resentment against his countrymen in his exile, he, at least, does not manifest it in his history. The states of Greece, though limited in extent, yet ever in agitation with matters civil or international, presented a wide field of inquiry to a mind like that of Thucydides, vigorous in analysis, and a perfect master of political science. Hence all critics have conceded to him

the palm in discovering the true springs of action, and in delineating the characters, whether of individuals or masses. His style, though regarded as the perfection of Atticism, has been charged with obscurity and abruptness ; but the obscurity arises from condensation, and the abruptness is naturally incidental to a writer more intent upon matter than manner, and who finds the established phraseology an inadequate vehicle for new combinations of ideas. His speeches may be considered as the dramatic part of history, developing, as it were, in action, the causes of events, the principles and objects of the parties interested ; and, therefore, furnishing to the imagination of the reader, a far better *rationale* of the transactions than any cold and general reflections. The reader is at once a spectator and an auditor.

Dramatic representations in Greece, as in other countries, appear to have had the rudest origin. Etymologists inform us that *Tragedy* means nothing more than the "song of the goat;"¹ for on the festival of Bacchus, which was celebrated with singing and dancing, it was customary either to sacrifice a goat, as being obnoxious to Bacchus because it browses on the vine, or because a goat was given as a prize to the most expert member of the chorus. As the worship of the gods was particularly connected with these sacred dances, the whole became the business of the state ; and the most opulent individuals of each tribe, upon whom the expences devolved, vied with each other in furnishing the chorusses as splendidly as possible. Thus, in the origin of tragedy, the members of the chorus were the only performers. Thespis was the first who not only erected a temporary stage, but introduced an actor distinct from the chorus, whose business it was to relieve the singers by the recitation of some mythological story. He organized a regular chorus, perfecting them in all the niceties of their

¹ Τράγου ψῆδῃ.

art; in the same manner as the later tragedians superintended, as managers, the *corps dramatique* during their rehearsals.¹ The chief improvement of Phrynichus consisted in selecting for the subjects of his tragedies important events from history or mythology.

By the addition of a second actor, Æschylus introduced the dialogue—afterwards the main element of tragic composition. The actors were dressed in appropriate costumes—raised to the heroic stature by means of the tragic buskin; the power and distinctness of their voice were aided by metal masks, so as to render them audible² in every part of their vast and roofless theatres. The choral odes were also reduced in length, and rendered subservient to the main purposes of the drama. “Sophocles,” says Aristotle, “increased the number of actors to three³ (ever after the legitimate number), and added the decoration of painted scenery.”⁴

As there are two leading elements in ancient tragedy, so there is a corresponding division in its dialect. The language of the lyrical portions is usually named the Doric. In the portion embracing the dialogue, we should naturally expect to meet with the pure Attic dialect. Yet still we do not meet with the language of actual life as it exists in Aristophanes, nor, on the other hand, the language of the lyrical writers, but such as may rather be denominated the old Attic, or Epic language; for the tragedians borrowed from the ancient Epic poets, not merely their subject-matter, but also their mode of expression and representing objects.⁴

¹ Hence *διδάσκων δράματα, docere fabulas*.

² *Echææ*, or brazen vessels were also placed under the seats, and so disposed by the most exact and geometrical and harmonic proportions, as to increase the distinctness and sweetness of the sounds. Of the mode in which this was effected we are entirely ignorant.

³ When three characters were on the stage, and a fourth was to come on, one of three retired to change his dress and return as the fourth personage.

⁴ *Arist. Post. x.*

⁵ *Haupt, Vorschule zum Studium der Griechischen Tragiken*. Hence they used in the dialogue, 1. many epic words and forms of words, as,

"The Iambic metre," observes Aristotle, was formed for the dialogue; for, of all metres, it is the most colloquial, as appears evidently from this fact, that our common conversation frequently falls into Iambic verse."¹

ÆSCHYLUS, whose numerous improvements have entitled him to the appellation of the Father of Tragedy, was born at Eleusis in Attica (525 B.C.). He made his first attempt at tragic composition 499 B.C. At the battle of Marathon, as well as of Salamis, he signalized himself by his bravery; and so dear to him was his military reputation, that, in the inscription which he directed to be engraved on his tomb, he calls to witness the field of Marathon, and the "long-haired Mede." He appears to have quitted Athens and died in Sicily: his residence in that island is attested by some Sicilian forms in his extant dramas.² He is said to have composed seventy dramas; but, exclusive of fragments, seven of his tragedies only remain, the titles of which are as follow: 1. *Prometheus Vincit*; 2. *Septem contra Thebas*; 3. *Persæ*; 4. *Agamemnon*; 5. *Choëphori*; 6. *Eumenides*; 7. *Supplices*.

The military genius of Æschylus exhibits at once the ardent temperament of the bard. On the stage, as in the field, he was equally fiery and impetuous; and his language, in its rugged compounds and multitudinous epithets, appears to labour beneath the weight of his conceptions. He does not aspire to the reputation of an *artiste* in his profession. His characters are delineated by a few powerful strokes;

ἔϊνος, αἰεὶ, μῶνος, κείνος, Θρηῆες, μέσσοις, τόσσον, πρόσσω, αὐτῆς and αὐτῇ, ζῆλος, ἔρος, πολιήτης, κ. τ. λ. 2. Epic forms of inflection; in the declensions, as—ἔδρης, γούνατα, δουρὶ and δορί; datives, in—αἰσὶ, ᾗσι, οἰσὶ, also τοκῆς, τοκῶν; and resolutions—νόον, εὐροον, ὀνέριος, ῥέεθρον: in the conjugations, as—πολεύμενος, κτισσας, ὀλίσσας, &c. 3. Epic quantities of words—ἀθάνατος, ἀκάματος, &c.

—Dr. Major's *Guide to the Greek Tragedians*, p. 193.

¹ Aristot. *Poet.* c. x.

² Thus πεδάρσιος, πεδαίχμιοι, πεδάοροι, μάσων, μᾶ, &c. for μετάρσιος, μεταίχμιοι, μετῶροι, μείζων, μήτερ, &c. Compare Blomfield, *Prom. Vincit.* 277. *Gloss.*

his choral odes are immoderate in their length; and his plots are rude and inartificial—not multiplying our sympathies by a complication of passions and incidents, and, therefore, communicating a less intense interest to the *dénouement*. Æschylus has been frequently compared to Shakespeare; but Shakespeare was a more universal and perfect man; cheerfulness, no less than terror, was an inmate of his bosom. The grandiloquence of Æschylus is only rivalled by the boldness of his figures. To him an army is a “land-wave;”¹ dust is a “voiceless messenger;”² the boat of Charon is a “*Theoris* untrodden by Apollo;”³ and the griffins are the “unbarking dogs of Jove.”⁴ Fond of dealing with whatever was vast and superhuman, he introduces the Titans on the stage—the primeval powers of nature—the mammoths of an antediluvian world. Unsatisfied with the liminary deities of Olympus, his imagination delights to stray into the world of shadows, and body forth that mysterious being, Destiny, before which all other powers vanished. Prometheus exults in anticipation of the destruction which awaits his oppressor, Jupiter; and it may be observed, in general, that the struggle of human energy against the irresistible agency of fate constitutes the *moral sublime* of ancient tragedy. The scenic representations of Æschylus correspond to the terror inspired by his conceptions. “Even a modern fancy must be torpid that, in reading Æschylus, is not electrified by the ghost of Clytæmnestra rushing in to awaken the Eumenides; and the grandeur of terror in spectral agency was certainly never made more perfect than where that poet invokes ‘the slumbering furies, and the sleepless dead.’”

The compositions of SOPHOCLES exhibit a mind perfectly at ease with itself, with all its faculties in harmony—the imagination and judgment duly attempered. In tragedy, he

¹ *Sept. c. Theb.* 64. ² *Ibid.* 82; on *Theoris*, see p. 61. ³ *Ibid.* 856.

⁴ *Prom. Vinc.* 828. Compare *Blomfield's Glossary (Agamemn.)* 81.

may be said to hold the same rank as Pericles, his contemporary, did in statesmanship; his mind rises superior to every subject he undertakes. He may be contrasted, rather than compared, with his rival Æschylus. His genius sheds a mild steady lustre, rather than dazzles us by flashes of fitful radiance. He does not deal with the superhuman and gigantesque. His heroes are elevated to the heroic standard, but not above it; they are not placed beyond the pale of human sympathies. If pity, as well as terror, be one of the instruments by which tragedy works out the purification of the passions,¹ because it presents the objects of the passions without the grossness and the violence with which they are attended in actual life, then Sophocles attains his object as successfully as Æschylus. The language of Sophocles is never turgid, yet it never sinks beneath the dignity of tragedy. But, above all, he excels in the construction of his plots. Æschylus can hardly be said to have any plot; Euripides sometimes anticipates the catastrophe in the prologue; but Sophocles exhibits his story in just gradations—exciting the interest at the commencement, and sustaining it throughout. Hence the apt propriety of his choral odes, which enchain the attention of the reader to the successive crises of the drama—prepare the incidents, and inculcate a pertinent moral.² It has been said that his *forte* lies in description; and the reader is referred for instances to his fine description of the Pythian games in the *Electra*; the distress of Philoctetes in *Lemnos*; and the praises of Athens in the *Œdipus Coloneus*.

Without denying the peculiar excellences of EURIPIDES—the general voice of antiquity seems to have assigned him a

¹ *Arist. Poet.* c. 6.

² Sophocles nullam scenam, nullam personam inducit, quæ non ad dramatis œconomiam pertineat. Chorus ejus nihil intercinat, quod non, secundum Horatii præceptum, proposito conducat et aptè cohereat. Heroes suos, ut pietatis justitiæ amantes, imitando proponit, aut secus sentientes merito supplicio afficit.—*Porson, Prælect.* p. 8.

rank considerably inferior to that of his two rivals. As a tragedian, he was indebted, in the opinion of Longinus,¹ to study and elaboration, rather than the original force of genius. The caustic raillery of Aristophanes has assailed every vulnerable point in his literary character. He accuses him of degrading the tragic buskin by the introduction of low and despicable characters, and rendering the language of the dialogue too colloquial—contrary to the practice of Æschylus and Sophocles, whose diction was strong and lofty, abounding in compound words, metaphors and epithets. He laughs at the unmeaningness of his choral odes, the clumsiness of his prologues, the loquacity of all his personages; and he charges his dramas with an immoral tendency.² His introduction of philosophy and rhetoric is sheer affectation in the eyes of Aristophanes; though others speak of him in high terms, as the “philosopher of the theatre;” and Quintilian is equally warm in favour of his oratorical talent and his didactic style—abounding with moral apophthegms and reflections.³ He considers him as wonderful in working on the passions, particularly in the excitement of pity; and, in this sense, Aristotle looks upon him as the most tragic of the poets.⁴ Longinus speaks of him as particularly happy in depicting the passions of love and madness;⁵ though his love is not characterized by that tone of sentiment which has distinguished it since the age of chivalry. His portraits of the female sex are altogether unfavourable; they are actuated by violent and degrading passions. It is supposed that the unhappiness of his own domestic relations inspired him with an antipathy for women; but the poet defends himself on the ground that he copied faithfully from nature.

¹ xv. 3. 6; xl. 2. 3. 4.

² *Ran.* 836. 1060. 944. 1067. 942. 1195. 763. 950. 847. 1002. *Pac.* 146. 526.

³ In sermone—magis accedit oratorio generi; et sententiis densus, et in iis, quæ a sapientibus tradita sunt, pæne ipsis par; et in dicendo et respondendo, cuilibet eorum, qui fuerunt in foro disert, comparandus.—*Quint. Inst. Or.* x. 1.

⁴ *Arist. Poët.* 26.

⁵ *Longin.* xv. 3.

Though tragedy and real life are separated by a wide gulf, the old *comedy* was the reflected image of its scenes, or rather, a mirror in which reality and its image were beheld in rapid alternation and succession. Though the aim of comedy, as explained by ARISTOPHANES, was to make men better in the state,¹ to admonish and instruct adults,² and to attack the most elevated individuals;³ yet it never lost sight of its original destination, which was to ridicule passing occurrences.⁴ Constant allusions were made to the transactions of real life—the personal appearance of living characters was imitated, and they were sometimes introduced under their real names. The plot of the piece was a secondary consideration; and in the *parabasis*, or the address of the chorus to the spectators (in which the connexion with the drama was almost imperceptible), the chorus, in reference to some object of real life, instructed, admonished, or censured the citizens, and thereby endeavoured to perform its vocation, viz. to inculcate principles beneficial to the state.

The comic muse of Aristophanes particularly levels her shafts against demagogues who guided the helm of the state, or were invested with public offices. He describes, with the convincing energy of truth, especially in the *Knights*, the destructive nature of demagoguery in general, the facilities it afforded to bad men to rise into power and eminence, its duplicity and adulation, the intrigues and cabals it employed to deceive the people, and above all its peculations and embezzlements. Eucrates, the vender of flax and tow, the cattle-dealer Lysicles, Hyperbolus, the lamp-maker, and, above all, the worthless Cleon,⁵ successively writhed under the lash of his satire. Neither does he spare the demus itself. He proposes to purify and strengthen the citizenship by expelling from it all worthless characters, and supplying

¹ *Aristoph. Ran.* 1009, 1010.

² *Ibid.* 1054.

³ *Aristoph. Pac.* 751, 752.

⁴ Ἐξ ἀμάξης σκώμματα.

⁵ See *Hist.* p. note.

their places with the more deserving among the new citizens. He deprecates the frequent meetings of the popular assembly—the foolish manner in which they demeaned themselves, their indulgence in invective and abuse, love of innovation and subservience to the demagogues. Innumerable complaints of the military profession, and the plan of operations, are contained in the *Peace*; whilst advice, as to the best mode of carrying on the war and administering the public revenue, is given in the *Frogs*. Neither, in his character of *ensor morum*, does he forget the foibles, or even the personal defects of those whose way of life was characterized by profligacy or folly.¹ The sensual coarseness of Aristophanes was as much the fault of his age as the poet; and this may be ascribed to the rigid seclusion of women from society among the Greeks. “As I cannot,” says Schlegel, “but recognize the richest development of almost all the qualities of a poet in Aristophanes, in the exercise of his art, but capable of being considered in many points of view, and susceptible of almost every variety of form, so I am amazed whenever I read him, at the extraordinary qualifications which, from the nature of his works, his spectators must have had.”²

¹ These brief remarks on Comedy have been condensed from *Wachsmuth*, vol. i. p. 203—227.

² *Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature*, vol. i. p. 238.

HISTORY OF GREECE.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY OF GREECE TILL THE HEROIC AGE.

Early Grecian History—Pelasgi—Hellenes—Foreign Colonies—Heroes—Argonautic Expedition, &c.

WITH respect to the ancient inhabitants of Greece, we have no historical notices now extant, unless we should apply the term to the mythical traditions of a later period. In this point of view, the early history of Greece is much more obscure and deficient than that of many other ancient nations. We meet with no hereditary caste of priests here, as we do in Egypt, who were commissioned to register public events—the poems on the foundations of cities¹ have perished—the works of the ancient chroniclers² have passed away, whilst Homer alone gives us occasional glimpses into the mysteries of the elder time.³ The first period of Grecian

¹ Κρίσεις (from κρίνω, *condo*), termed by *Dion. Hal.* ἐπιχώρια γράφαι, or "topographical writings."

² Λογογράφοι (λόγος and γράφω, *scribo*.) Cadmus, Hecateus, &c.

³ Thucydides, in his introduction to the Peloponnesian war, has given us a rapid outline of early Grecian history, and particularly that which is connected with naval affairs. He ascribes its uncertainty to the carelessness with which traditions are handed down from generation to generation; the majority have no aptitude for the vigorous investigation of truth—ἐνὶ τὰ ἱστοῖμα μᾶλλον τρέπονται (i. 20).

history extends from the earliest mythical traditions to the Trojan war (1200 B. C.).

The earliest traditions, however, contain no allusion to the immigration and settlement of tribes from other countries, but evidently consider the inhabitants of any particular district as its aboriginal inhabitants (*Autochthones*¹). That Greece was peopled from Asia Minor, can hardly admit of a doubt; for nature herself appears to have pointed out the way to Thrace² and Greece over the Hellespont, the Thracian Bosphorus, and the cluster of islands which stud the Ægean. The Pelasgi are the oldest Greek tribe with which we are acquainted, and were spread almost over the whole of Greece, from Thessaly to the extreme point of the Peloponnesus, as well as the islands of Asia Minor, and the coasts of the Hellespont as far as Mycæle. They had small states in the Peloponnesus, Bœotia, Attica, the islands Samothrace, Lemnos, and Crete. Hence, in all those places, we meet with similar names of mountains, rivers, and cities.—Olympus, Ida, Inachus, Alpheus, Achelous, Argos (which signifies 'plain'), Larissa, &c. Their most ancient seat appears to have been in Epirus, around the oracle of Dodona, which was their great point of reunion, as Delphi was afterwards of the Hellenes.³

The Pelasgi could not have been altogether barbarous, subsisting merely by fishing and hunting, as is commonly represented. Tradition speaks of states that were founded by them, as Argos (2130 A. M.), Sicyon (1850), Arcadia, &c.; and the so-called Cyclopæan⁴ walls or structures

Again the poets exaggerated everything according to the principles of their art, and the chroniclers paid more regard to what was pleasing to the ears than to truth (i. 21).

¹ *Ἀὐτόχθων, γῆς, terra.* Literally, "sprung from the earth."

² A lively intercourse was doubtless kept up at this period between Thrace and Asia Minor. *Herod.* i. 35, 73, 94; vii. 91. sq.

³ *Kræbel*, see *Hom. Il.* π. 1. 234. The *Selli*, or priests, are here represented as *ἀνιπτόποδες, χαμαιῦναι*, "with unwashed feet," "lying on the ground." There was another Dodona in Thessaly.

⁴ "The most ancient specimen of Cyclopic walling is found at

(*larissæ*), are undeniable specimens of their mechanical genius. The language of the Pelasgi, which Herodotus calls a *barbarous* language (i. 57), though, perhaps, in reference to its rude simplicity rather than its foreign character, was the common root of the Greek and Latin. The invention of the goad—the yoking of oxen to the plough—the art of measuring land, are all ascribed to the Pelasgi; their gods are the deities of the mountain and field; and in their character of ‘tillers of the ground,’ we may find the most appropriate explanation of their name.¹

Passing over the other Greek tribes of less importance, we shall direct our attention, for a moment, to the Hellenic race, which eventually overspread the whole of Greece. When Hellen and his sons had acquired power in Phthiotis, and led out their dependants by way of aid to other cities, conversation made the use of this name (*Hellenes*) become much more frequent among the several people, though it was long before it so prevailed as to become the general appellation of them all.²

Of the three most important branches—the Ionians, Dorians, and Achæans—the last became so powerful that

Tyrinus, near Mycenæ. The doorway, called the Gate of the Lions at Mycenæ, is built, according to Dodwell, Clarke, and others, exactly like the remains of Stonehenge.”—*Encyc. Brit. Art. ARCHITECTURE*. “The Pelasgi constructed these walls by means of a caste of miners; and as the lamp which the miners carried with them (attached probably to the forehead) may be considered as their *only eye*, hence the tradition of the Cyclopes.”—*Hirt*. i. 198.

¹ Pelasgi (*πέλαω*, *versor*, and *Ἀργος* or *ἀγρός*, *ager*). Homer speaks of the Pelasgi as ‘divine,’ an epithet hardly suitable for barbarians. Some consider the “name Pelasgi a general name, like that of Saxons, Franks, or Alemanni; but that each of the Pelasgian tribes had a name peculiar to itself.”

² (*Thuc.* i. i. 3.) The noble families at Delphi, from which the five leading priests were selected, were descended from Deucalion, the father of Hellen. As the Olympic games, whose judges were Hellenodiceæ, and Sparta, whose army was furnished with officers bearing a similar title, stand in intimate connection with Delphi, no name could appear more appropriate for the united Greek nation than that of *Hellenes*; and the importance of the national oracle at Delphi might have contributed much to render it current.

Homer, who, as Thucydides remarks (i. 3), has no general name for the whole nation, commonly distinguishes that tribe from the others—the “Panhellenes and the Achæans.”¹ The Hellenes of Homer are particularly the inhabitants of Thessaly, the Myrmidons who followed Achilles; but the expression, *Panhellenes*, proves that even then the name had begun to receive a general application.² The Hellenes may be considered as a warrior race, rising up in the midst of rural communities—they draw their cavalry from the plains of Thessaly—the ‘horse-breeding Argos’; and the employment of chariots in battle is the distinctive feature of their mode of warfare, until it “sunk before the overpowering Doric hoplites” — the renowned phalanx. Upon the renewal of the Olympic games’ (888 B. C.), the national name of *Hellenes* was assumed in contradistinction to foreigners or barbarians. The Pelasgi became amalgamated with the conquerors, or emigrated to Italy, and the various isles; and the conflict of the two races is veiled under the tradition of the Titans fighting against the gods. Hence it appears how faintly the line of demarcation must be drawn between the Pelasgi and the Hellenes. The Aborigines, who kept themselves unmixed in Thrace, Asia Minor, and the Islands, preserved the ancient name of Pelasgi till the period of the Persian wars, being easily recognized by their rude dialect and barbarous manners; all the rest were amalgamated under the national name of Hellenes.⁴

¹ Πανήλληνες καὶ Ἀχαιοί (Il. β. 530). (Cf. *Hes. Op.* 826). Homer calls them *Achæans*, *Danai*, *Argives*, but the name *Greeks*, Γραικοί, which occurs even in the Parian marbles, and was derived from the Pelasgic Graicus (in Italy), ultimately obtained the ascendancy. “By the term *Panhellenes*, Homer designates Thessaly and Central Greece, and by the “*Achæans*,” Peloponnesus, or “Hellas and Argos.”—

² *Heeren's Political Sketch of the History of Greece*, p. 38.

³ *Herod.* v. 32.

⁴ This deduction is evident from the valuable preface or introduction of Thucydides, and agrees with the notices of Herodotus, Strabo, and Dionysius Halicarn. Homer, as Thucydides remarks (i. 3), has not made use of the term “barbarians,” because the name “Hellenes” did not yet exist as a national and distinctive title. “The

No one, who looks at the map for a moment, can doubt that Greece, by its command of the Mediterranean Sea, was admirably situated for carrying on an intercourse with the more civilized inhabitants of the ancient world. On the way to Phœnicia and Asia Minor, one island almost touched another. The shores of Egypt, which so long appeared to the Greek as the country of marvels and mysteries, were at no great distance. Though the period at which we may fix the arrival of the foreign colonies, is carried far beyond the limits of authentic history, yet that such events did occur, is not merely a matter of tradition, but is supported by the testimony of existing monuments.

The first foreign colony which arrived in Attica is supposed to have come about 1550 B. C. under the direction of Cecrops, from Sais in Lower Egypt.¹ The Phœnician colony, under the conduct of Cadmus (see Geog. Ch. V.), appears to have fixed its head-quarters at the Bœotian Thebes, whilst the Peloponnesus received its quota of emigrants under the leadership of Pelops. The islands betwixt Greece and Phœnicia were almost entirely overspread by emigrants from the latter. The favourable situation of Crete, midway between Greece and Egypt, will account for its early civilization.

The leaders of these foreign colonies not only became

Pelagi were called by the Athenians (that is, after their mixture) *τελαγγοί*, storks, on account of their frequent removals from place to place."—*Strabo*, ix. p. 273. Ed. *Casaubon*, *πολύπλανον ἔθνος*, *Id.*—"The natives of Egypt gave the appellation of *Barbar* to the rude and uncivilized tribes in their vicinity."—*Herod.* ii. 158. The word barbarian was at first employed only to designate an un-Grecian harshness of language.—*Strabo*, 14, 662.

¹ Hermann says that Cecrops occurs first in connection with Egypt in Eusebius, then in Tzetzes, Suidas, and so on.—*Polit. Antiq.* p. 179.

² The Greeks first mention the Phœnicians about the time of Inachus, king of Argos (1856 B. C.). Herodotus says of them, "They carried Egyptian and Assyrian merchandise, and visited all countries, and amongst others Argos, which at that time was superior to all the rest in Greece (i. 2)." A testimony well worthy of attention for this early period.—*Kriebel*.

princes themselves, but they made the regal power hereditary in their families. Thus Pandion, Ægeus, Theseus, the earliest kings of Attica, were all descended from Cecrops. From the Phœnician Cadmus, we track the destinies of the race in the misfortunes of those "favourites of the Tragic Muse," Laius, Œdipus, Eteocles, and Polynices. Descending the line of Pelops, we meet with the house of the Atridæ, whose fame, in the persons of Agamemnon and Menelaus, has been immortalized by Homer; whilst the tragedians have done justice to their misfortunes, and those of their descendants.

Amongst the heroes of this early period, we may particularly mention Hercules,¹ who appears to have united in himself the actions of several distinct heroes. Perseus, the son of Jupiter and Danae, and Theseus, who delivered Attica from the tribute to the Minotaur, can hardly be passed over in silence. Minos, king of Crete, distinguished himself by delivering the sea-coasts and islands from pirates; and has also left us the first example of a well-ordered state. He was the first, says Thucydides, who established a navy: He ruled over the Cyclades, and colonized many islands—expelling the Carians and introducing his own sons as governors. For, in ancient times, robbery and piracy were as prevalent among the Greeks as the barbarians, particularly among the islanders and the inhabitants of the coast. The ancient poets every where represent those out at sea as inquiring of each other whether they were pirates; the inquiry exciting neither shame on the one hand, nor reproach on the other. This system of robbery extended also to the continent. And even at this day we find that the practice of going armed,² in the common intercourse of life, still prevails among the Locri Ozolæ, Ætolians, Acar-

¹ Hæc arte Pollux et vagus Hercules
Innixus, arces attigit igneas. *Hor. Od.* iii. 3.

² Σιδηροφορεῖσθαι.—*Thucyd.* i. 5.

nanians, &c.—a relic and a memento of the usages which formerly existed in Greece.

Among artists, Dædalus so far excelled in statuary that tradition ascribed to him the power of making his statues to walk. He was most probably the inventor of sails; and hence originated the story about the wings by which he was enabled to steer his flight out of Crete. Æsculapius and Chiron practised the healing art; while Orpheus, Linus, and Musæus sang the origin of the gods and the world, and celebrated the achievements of Grecian heroes. Traditions, poems, myths, constitute among the Greeks, as well as among other ancient nations, the historical resources of this period; with this difference, that while other nations have adulterated history with physical, astronomical, and religious myths, the Greeks have introduced real historical personages and dates into their mythology.—In Homer, in Hesiod, and in the echo of the Argonautic singers that have come down to us, we meet with the most interesting information concerning the condition, the manners, and the relations of ancient Greece.¹

Amongst the enterprises of that period, we would particularly mention the Argonautic expedition (1250 B.C.?) conducted by Jason, and participated in by Hercules, Orpheus, Admetus, Peleus, Theseus, Amphion, Esculapius, Castor and Pollux, &c. Starting from the Thessalian Iolcus, in a fifty-oared galley, the Argonauts² sailed along the

¹ *Rotteck*, vol. i. p. 247, 248. The *Argonautica* and other works, ascribed to Orpheus, are of a much later age; *Fabricii Bibliotheca Græca*, vol. i. p. 120. At Samothrace the Argonauts were initiated into the mysteries.

² Hitherto the chiefs or leaders of tribes had been engaged only in acts of mutual hostility. This was the Brazen Age described by Hesiod, *Æg.* κ. ρ. λ. v. 142—155. But Hesiod marks a change of manners, in which the martial spirit was illuminated by the brighter virtues of justice and humanity. This change occurred between the expedition of the Argonauts and the siege of Thebes, since the latter was the first exploit in which this new race of men, 'juster and more valiant,' γένος δικαιότερον καὶ ἀρειον, were engaged. *Æg.* i. v. 155—165.

coasts of Greece, round the Peloponnesus, through the Cyclades into the Ægean Sea; and from thence through the straits into the Euxine, to Colchis (now Mingrelia), *i.e.* almost to the extreme point of the Black Sea. The voyage was probably undertaken as much through the spirit of adventure or commerce, as the tradition about the Golden Fleece; for we find that the Argonautic city, Orchomenus, on the lake Copais, attained to commercial pre-eminence at this period. The expedition of the seven Argive chiefs against Thebes¹ is another chivalrous undertaking of this period (1225?), and brings us into more immediate contact with the heroic age, whose character we shall delineate, as depicted to us by Homer in the *Iliad*, which describes the battles before Troy (*Ilium*), and the *Odyssey*, which describes the wanderings and adventures of Ulysses (*Odysseus*)—two inexhaustible sources from which succeeding poets and artists have derived materials for their representations. The Heroic Age may be considered as reaching from Inachus to the conquests of the Heraclidæ.

¹ This undertaking forms the subject-matter of Æschylus's play, 'Ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας, *Septem contra Thebas*. Six of the chiefs fell in the contest; but it was renewed by their sons (*Epigoni*), and after a ten years' war (1215?) Thersander, son of Polynices, obtained the dominion. The war of the Thebans and Argives forms the subject of the *Thebais* of Statius. In the first contest we meet with Adrastus, king of Argos, Capaneus, Tydeus, Hippomedon, Parthenopæus, &c.; and in the second Alcæon, Thersander, Polydorus, and Thesimenes, are the most conspicuous.

CHAPTER II.

THE HEROIC AGE.

Form of Government—Labours of Agriculture—Domestic Arts—State of Society—Grecian States—Early Heroes.

THE civilization of the Heroic Age,¹ when contrasted with that of the Pelasgi, may be considered as a great step in the progress of social improvement. In the time of the Trojan war we meet with no example of a republic. A king stands at the head of every state, who derives his "glory" from Jupiter,² and to whom the other heroes are subordinate, for the "government of many" brings no advantage." Though these heroes or nobles are elevated far above the people, for their progenitors are represented as the sons of gods, yet they are not separated from them as a distinct caste. They are distinguished by their superior accomplishments, their

¹ The ancients distinguish the history of the Greeks into three periods—the *uncertain* (ἀδελον), which extended to the flood of Deucalion (1503 B.C.)—the *fabulous* (μυθικόν), which terminated with the introduction of the Olympiads (776 B.C.)—and the *historical* (ιστορικόν), reaching to the subjugation of Greece. The heroes are placed in the fabulous period; thus the heroic and the fabulous age are synonymous.—Before the Olympic era came into use, writers generally reckoned by generations, of which three went to a century, according to *Herod.* ii. 142; but other authors vary more or less. Timæus was the first who reduced all the various modes of reckoning to the computation by Olympiads, 260 B.C. *Polyb.* xii. 12. The more sensible among the Greeks did not attempt to trace their chronology beyond the invasion of the Heraclidæ (1104 B.C.) Clinton, on the other hand, has lately defined the period of historical certainty to commence with the usurpation of Pisistratus. Vol. ii. *Introd.* pp. iii.—vii.

² Σκηπτροῦχοι βασιλεῖς. *Sceptre-bearing kings.* *Hom.* Their rule was not despotic, but modified by laws and customs κατὰ νόμους τε καὶ ἰθυσμόν πατρίους. *Dion. Hal.* v. 74.

³ Οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανία· εἰς κοίρανος ἕστω. *Hom. Il.* ii. 204.

skill in warlike exercises, their personal prowess, and their superior wealth. A primitive mark of distinction was, that the nobility resided in the citadel, and the lower class in the country; hence their denomination *demus*. The king was supreme judge, as well as priest,¹ yet the administration of justice² was sometimes committed to an assembly of elders.³

Matters of general interest are debated,⁴ first in a council of the chiefs and elders, and then in an assembly of the people. Yet, striking enough, we meet with no instance in Homer of any popular decisions binding the king: Agamemnon sets himself far above them.⁵ The general assemblies of the people had no other object than to ascertain the public voice. They were summoned only to hear, not to decide: if a factious voice arose, like that of Thersites, it was at once silenced by vigorous measures.⁶ Even the right of giving counsel belonged only to a few select nobles,⁷ who formed the circle next around the monarch under the titles of princes, chiefs, or elders.⁸ As kings are the chief, yet accountable guardians of the people, they are termed "shepherds of the people"—the kingly being beautifully compared with the pastoral office. The people expressed their acquiescence by acclamation, and not by voting;⁹ yet the popular voice is not to be despised.¹⁰ As the king received a larger share of booty, he was enabled to invite the nobles to his table; for hospitality was a sacred duty. We meet with no ruling priesthood, although the "seers" and "diviners" may be traced up to a very early period—

¹ Every meal (of which there were three in the day *ἀριστον, δείπνον, δόρυς*) was accompanied with a sacrifice, and a libation.

² *Δίκη* and *Θέμις*, rights, human and divine.

³ *Γερουσία*. The "fear of the avenging gods" plays a conspicuous part in Grecian mythology, and was probably cultivated by poets and legislators as a bulwark against violence and passion.

⁴ As among the Germans. *Tac. Germ.* 11.

⁵ *Hom. Il.* i. 21.

⁶ *Ibid.* ii. 211—277.

⁷ *Βουλὴ—μεγαθύμων—γερόντων.* *Hom. Il.* ii. 53, Cf. v. 79.

⁸ *Ἡγήτορες ἢ δὲ μέδοντες.* ⁹ *Il.* xii. 213. ¹⁰ *Ibid.* xiv. 239.

and their offices were partly hereditary.¹ Even after the abolition of the regal government, the princely nobility, transmitted from the heroic age, formed a privileged class, as the Codridæ or Medontidæ in Athens, the Neleidæ in Miletus; the Penthilidæ in Mitylene; the Bacchiadæ in Corinth; the Aleuadæ in Thessaly, &c.

The idea of security appears every where to attach itself to property; at least, we find the boundaries of landed property fixed by measurement, or designated by stones. Homer describes to us the various labours of farming, ploughing both with oxen and mules, sowing, reaping, binding the sheaves, and treading out the corn by oxen on the threshing floor. Neither does he omit to mention the culture of the grape, the tilling of gardens, and the various duties of herdsmen.² We see every where abundance of the precious metals—glittering in domestic utensils as well as in the accoutrements of the hero. Yet, notwithstanding this abundance, we meet with no mention of coined money. "Glaucus's armour is worth one hundred oxen, and Diomed's nine;" and the wealth of individuals is estimated by the

¹ *Kriebel*. The office of priest, which Homer mentions among the Trojans, Thracians, and Ætolians, includes a care for the temple, altars, and votive offerings—supplications, in the name of the people, to the gods, and the annunciation, as well as the application, of the means by which their anger might be appeased. Thus, from the words of Achilles, *ἀγε δὴ τινα μάντιν ἐρείομεν ἢ ἱερῆα ἢ καὶ ὄνειροπόλον*, it appears that the Grecian camp was by no means destitute of priests. As the gift of the "seer" is conferred by Apollo, the senses become more acute, and the power of comprehension is strengthened. Hence Calchas had brought the ships to Troy, every where finding the best, the proper way *ἦν διὰ μαντοσύνην, τὴν οἱ πόρε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων*. Hence he understands the true cause of Apollo's anger; for the nature of his art consists in "understanding the past, present, and future." And that this is the province of an elevated internal sense, is clear from a passage in Hesiod: Jupiter has given strength to the Æacidæ, understanding to the Amythaonidæ (*νοῦν δ' Ἀμυθαονίδαϊς*), riches to the Adræidæ. The mention of the Amythaonidæ would be without meaning if they were not meant as a family of "seers." See *Allgemeine Literatur Zeitung*, No. 154. 1833.

² The reader need only turn to the description of the figures on the shield of Achilles. *Hom. Il.* xviii. 540.

number of their cattle.¹ Tribute is paid, therefore, to the king in *kind*, who lived, however, for the most part, upon the produce of the domain² assigned to him. This was cultivated by the captives taken in war, of whom a considerable number were always bestowed upon the general.

The art of weaving appears to have been practised extensively; though, perhaps, it was not carried to the same perfection as in Egypt or Sidon. At least, the most beautiful garments were imported from these countries;³ but this might probably be owing to their superiority in the art of dyeing. The character of woman appears considerably elevated;⁴ at least, if we may form our judgment from those of Andromache and Penelope, Nausicaa, and even Helen, as delineated by Homer. In this respect the Greek stands between the East and the West. Although he was never wont, like the Germanic nations, to revere women as beings of a higher order, he did not, like the Asiatic, imprison them by troops in a harem.⁵ There is a decorum and solemnity pervading the intercourse of private life, and even the forms of colloquial language. Again, the sanctity of

¹ Some have imagined that the βούς of Homer was a coin stamped with the image of an ox. But in a well-known passage, Homer, after mentioning other articles with which they purchased wine, adds, αὐτοῖσι βόεσσι, "with oxen themselves." Talents of gold are indeed mentioned by Homer, but only as prizes for combatants, or dedications in temples. *Gillies*, ch. i. note. We may observe that *nummus*, *numus* (both of which occur in inscriptions), as well as νόμισμα coined money, are derived from νόμος, law; for the law alone confers upon them their value. The Etruscans had no *o*; so νόμος *nummus*, ἱερὸς νόμος *haruspex*. *Rom. Ant.* p. 31, note *a*.

² Τίμενος (from τέμνω), the "cut," or portion of ground.

³ *Hom. Il.* vi. 280. On the Tyrian purple (*Tyria dibapha*) see *Rom. Ant.* p. 318, note *d*.

⁴ The poems of Homer retrace the most perfect image of domestic felicity. There is, perhaps, no other language that can express without circumlocution, what the Greeks meant by θρέπτρα (τρέφω, *nutrio*), the obligations of children to repay the maintenance, the education, and the tender cares of their parents. *Gillies*, ch. ii.

⁵ *Heeren*, p. 82.

hospitality and respect for suppliants were sufficient to protect the individual.¹

A certain nobleness of sentiment displays itself even in the scenes of war. Nowhere does the great national struggle of this period exhibit to us the cruelties which not unfrequently stain the military history of more polished nations. The influence of religion was directed against the wild excesses of a sanguinary temper. Thus Tydeus lost for ever the protection of his adored Minerva by a single act of savage ferocity. Hands, stained in the blood even of honourable warfare, could not, till purified by lustration, be employed in the most ordinary functions of religious worship.² Ideas of a *jus gentium*, or 'international law,' already prevail. Reverence for the herald could suspend the severest conflict; Hector and Ajax part reconciled after an undecided contest; treaties are concluded, and the slain are given back for ransom.³

In the times immediately preceding the Trojan war, the division of races, and their corresponding territories, was quite as great, if not greater, than in their later history. Thus the rich country of Thrace reckons up ten states; and in Greece Proper, we meet with the Bœotians, Minyans, Phocians, Locrians, Ætolians, and Athenians,⁴ as so many distinct communities—followed by the islands of Eubœa and Salamis, each under its own leaders. The Peloponnesus also comprises the kingdoms of Argos, Mycenæ, Sparta, Pylus, Elis, and Arcadia. The islands Ithaca, Zacynthus

¹ So we are told that all strangers and beggars come from Jupiter. *Od.* xiv. 56. The customary duties of civility are defined by the precise voice of the gods. The king of the Phæacians does not detain Ulysses longer than he chooses, lest he should offend the gods. *Od.* viii. Outlaws during their exile, and suppliants are supposed to be under the special protection of Jupiter (Ζεύς φύξιος, ἱκετήσιος.)

² *Gillies*, c. 2. The ferocity in actual combat may be accounted for, partly by the warriors buckling so closely with their antagonists.

³ *Ἀποίνα*. *Il.* i. 13; x. 380.

⁴ Δῆμος Ἀθηναίων. *Il.* ii. The term *demos*, being applied only to the Athenians in the catalogue of Homer, is supposed to be used in reference to the popular nature of their government.

(Zante), Cephallene, and a portion of Epirus, form the kingdom of Ulysses.¹ Amongst all these states, Thessaly and the kingdom of the Pelopidæ are by far the most powerful. The cities are built on well-chosen and convenient sites, with regular streets,² and encompassed with gates and walls; whilst the residences of the chiefs are large and spacious.

Greece, during its early history, appears to have been infested with numberless marauders—"men," says Plutarch, "of uncommon strength, dexterity, and swiftness, who used these natural gifts to no good purpose, and esteemed the praises of equity, fair dealing, and benevolence, to proceed from faintness of heart, and dread of injury." By the extirpation of these lawless banditti, the earliest heroes, as Hercules, Tydeus, and Meleager, appear to have acquired their renown. These exploits, however, were merely of a local character; but the undertaking of Theseus against Crete, the union of the seven heroes against Thebes, and, above all, the Argonautic expedition to the eastern shores of the Euxine, infused into the Greeks the love of military adventure. Heroic institutions, we may remark, were ascribed to the states without the limits of Greece, and, perhaps, with the exception of the Læstrygonians, Sintians, and a few inhospitable princes, like Echetus, Busiris, &c., the remaining population of the earth was collected within an heroic circle; nay, even fabulous nations, the Abii, or Macrobii, Hippomolgi, Æthiopians, and Hyperboreans were raised above the Greeks themselves.³

¹ We may observe that neighbouring communities, in adjusting their boundaries, appealed, through succeeding ages, to the poems of Homer as the approved and legal standard. *Plut.* in *Solon*.

² *Εὐρύγεια πόλις.* *Hom.*

³ The difference in language was indeed observed (*Καρῶν βαρβαροφώνων.* *Il.* ii. 867); but the idea of the barbarian quality was not definitely expressed. *Wachsmuth*, vol. i. pp. 142, 143.

CHAPTER III.

THE TROJAN WAR AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF
COLONIES.

Trojan War—Ilium—Grecian Armament—Battles before Troy—Consequences of the War—Return of the Heracidae—Foreign Colonies—Geography of Homer.

THE Trojan war was the first national undertaking in the Heroic Age, which united all the kings and leaders of the various Greek tribes in the prosecution of one common object (1194—1184 B.C.?). As the territories of Agamemnon extended over the greater part of the Peloponnesus;¹ we see a reason, independent of his being more intimately connected with the cause of the quarrel (by his relationship to Menelaus²) why the first rank should be unanimously accorded to the leader of the Achæans. It is evident, from the temporary defection of Achilles, that Agamemnon is acting merely as the generalissimo³ of the united forces, and that he possesses no power to compel the obedience of any chief who may choose to be refractory. Next to Agamemnon we may rank Achilles, followed by Ulysses, Diomed, Menelaus, Ajax the Telamonian, and Ajax the son of

¹ Compare *Il.* i. 281. Where his preeminence is ascribed to his extensive sway—*ἐπεὶ πλεόνεσσιν ἀνάσσει.*

² Helen, the daughter of Leda, and the Spartan king, Tyndarus, and the wife of Menelaus, brother of Agamemnon, was carried away by Paris, son of Priam, king of Troy. But we must recollect that the primary cause of the war was the desire of revenge in the Pelopidæ upon the Teucris, or Dardani, on account of the expulsion of their progenitor, Pelops. Hereditary feuds existed, in fact, between the two houses. Paris was not the only hero guilty of abduction. Perseus had carried off the African Medusa; Jason, Medea of Colchis; Theseus, the Amazon Antiope; Hercules, Megara, Iole, Deianira, &c.

³ *Ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν.* *Hom.* τῶν τότε δυνάμει προύχων κ. τ. λ. *Thuc.* i. 9.

Oileus, Idomeneus, Nestor, &c. On the side of the Trojans, Hector, Æneas, and Antenor, distinguished themselves most during the siege.¹

The great and powerful city of Troy or Ilium was situated on the north-western point of Asia Minor; its sway had extended over the opposite coasts of Thrace, and its allies, as well as subjects, were numerous. Thus in the ranks of the Trojan army, which musters 50,000 strong, we meet with Paphlagonians, Mysians, Lydians, Carians, &c., and even with the distant Ethiopians. As the Trojans belonged to the family of the Pelasgi, hence they are connected with the Greeks, both in language² and in manners. They worship the same deities with the Greeks:—Jupiter, Pallas, Venus, and Apollo. Neither can we assume that Greek names were merely transferred to them; for we meet with no example in Homer of Trojan divinities standing opposed to the Greek.

Against this powerful kingdom the united princes, under the command of Agamemnon, undertook their famous expedition, with 1186 ships, and about 100,000 men, according to the poetical catalogue of Homer. The ships had half-decks,³ and stones for their anchors; each contained from 50 to 120 men, who acted in the capacity of rowers as well as soldiers.⁴ They also brought with them war-chariots, in

¹ As the princely office required strength in action, as well as council, we see why Achilles, during the life-time of his father, Peleus, is considered as the prince of the Myrmidons; why Hector is a more prominent figure than Priam; and Nestor, who is still capable of bearing arms, is held up to admiration as an extraordinary aged prince; whereas Laërtes, the father of Ulysses, lives despised in the country. *Od.* i. 190. *Wachsmuth*, vol. i. p. 124.

² We remark in Homer examples of an ancient language—the *language of the Gods*, whilst the Pelasgi themselves are termed “divine” (*i. e.* ancient).—*Kriebel*.

³ Πλοῖα—τῷ παλαιῷ τρόπῳ ληστικώτερον παρεσκευασμένα. The vessels being built, according to the old fashion, more for piracy.—*Thuc.* i. 10. Navigation, however, was still in its infancy, and it was a constant rule with mariners μή πελαγίζειν.—*Strabo*, i. p. 82.

⁴ Ἀντιπείται—καὶ μάχιμοι πάντες, as is evident from the ships of Philoctetes, for he converted all who laboured at the oar (προσκόπους)

which the leaders and heroes fought; for as yet they had no cavalry. Having procured a favourable wind by the meditated sacrifice of Iphigenia, they set sail from Aulis in Bœotia for the opposite coast of Troy. As their landing here, however, was contested, they haul their light vessels on shore; each tribe ranges itself in ranks, erects tents for itself, and the whole camp is surrounded with a ditch. Agamemnon subsequently adopts the advice of Nestor,¹ and marshals his army according to their respective clans or families, in order that they might derive from each other mutual assistance and encouragement.

On meeting with such determined resistance from the Trojans, the Greeks, pressed by want, commence incursions into the neighbouring districts (in which incursions Achilles himself destroys twelve cities), and at the same time cultivate the rich vales of the Chersonese,² in order to procure subsistence. This is favourable to the continuance of the war.³ Afterwards they return to the attack of the city, and many violent battles ensue, in which the heroes on both sides single out each other for personal encounter: Clubs,⁴ slings, bows, javelins, and even large stones, in case of necessity, constitute their armour for offence; whilst their defensive consists of long shields, helmets, breast-plates, and greaves of brass for their legs. The troops advance in close lines, and the leaders or van-fighters⁵ generally decide

into archers.—*Thucyd.* i. 10. That Agamemnon was in possession of a navy, the same writer argues from Homer observing, that he ruled over "many islands, and all Argos" (πολλῶσι νήσοισι καὶ Ἀργεῖ παντί), for the islands immediately adjacent (περιοίκιδες) were not many (i. 9). In Greece triremes were first built at Corinth (i. 13). In the time of Cyrus and Cambyzes, the Ionians equipped a fleet. Polycrates, Tyrant of Samos, reduced several islands, and the Phœæans, who founded Marseilles, conquered the Carthaginians by sea (i. 13).

¹ The inhabitants had been recently expelled or destroyed by the incursions of the Thracians.—*Thucyd.* i.

² *Thucyd.* i. 11.

⁴ Φάλαγγες.

⁵ Πρόμαχοι (πρὸς καὶ μάχη). These alone were completely armed (hence κορυπητὴς ἀνὴρ). Their faithful attendants πιστοὶ Σεράποντες may be compared with the "Esquires" in the age of chivalry.

the fate of the day by their courage and activity. "We see them going forth to battle with a prodigality of life, arising from an exuberance of animal spirits—covered with glittering armour, with dust and blood; while the gods quaff their nectar in golden cups, or mingle in the fray; and the old men, assembled on the walls of Troy, rise up with reverence as Helen passes by them." Notwithstanding the great superiority of the Greeks in point of numbers, they spent ten years before Troy, and at last only succeeded in taking it by stratagem.¹ Those Trojans who escaped the fury of the conquerors fled to distant countries.

The consequences of the Trojan war were equally important in their influence upon the state of society and government in Greece. Many of the heroes and chiefs had perished, either in the war² or on their return home; still more were cast away by storms on distant coasts. Many, who did return in safety, found a new generation sprung up; whilst a hostile feeling caused the death of some in the bosom of their families (as was the case with Agamemnon³), and drove others into exile. Revolutions had taken place in many of the princely families;⁴ and in others the long continuance of the war had generated such disturbances as

¹ The well known quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles, respecting the maid Briseis, is stated by Homer to have been the only reason why the city was not taken sooner. The leading facts of the Trojan war rest upon historical evidence, but we pass over its details, as we have of the Argonautic expedition, and the expedition against Thebes, as belonging more appropriately to the department of mythology.

² Of five Bæotian commanders, only one remained. The wanderings of Ulysses (who "saw many men and many cities") on his return home, form the subject of the *Odyssey*. "The *Odyssey*," observes Wachsmuth, "does not express that profound reverence for the princely dignity which is so uniformly characteristic of the *Iliad*, and we especially miss the respect for the transmission of the same by hereditary succession in the family of the reigning sovereign."—Vol. i. p. 136.

³ This forms the subject of the Agamemnon of Æschylus. The chief interest attaches to the part of Cassandra, who predicts the woes about to fall on the house of Agamemnon.

⁴ *Thucyd.* i. 12.

paved the way for their final extinction. Teucer, the son of Telamon, led a colony from Salamis to Cyprus, where he founded a city, bearing the name of Salamis; Diomed sailed away to that part of Italy afterwards called Magna Græcia; and Neoptolemus having abandoned Thessaly, settled in Epirus, in the land of the Molossi. The second period of Grecian history extends from the Trojan war to the commencement of the Persian wars, 1200—500 B. C.

Sixty years after the capture of Troy, the Bœotians, being expelled from Arne by the Thessalians, who had settled in the valley of the Peneus, took possession of their country; and at the same time the Tyrrhenian Pelasgi forced their way into Attica, and thence proceeded to Lemnos and Samothrace. Twenty years after that, all Greece was thrown into motion by the return of the Heraclidæ, at the head of the Dorians (1104 B. C.), to regain possession of the Peloponnesus.¹ They were the descendants of Hercules, the great grandson of Perseus, king of Argos; but they had hitherto been prevented from enforcing their claims by the Pelopidæ, into which family the sceptre had passed. About twenty years, however, after the death of Agamemnon, having united themselves with the warlike Dorians in the north of Greece and the Ætolians, they sailed over the gulf of Corinth into the peninsula, the whole of which they gradually subjugated, with the exception of Arcadia and the Achæans, who removed to that strip of land along the coast denominated Achaia.² Thus the Dorians, under the con-

¹ *Thucyd.* i. 12. Tum Græcia maximis concussa est motibus.—*Vell. Pat.* i. 3.

² Hence they were called *Autochthones* (*Her.* viii. 73.), and *προσῆλθοντες* (*Apollon. Rhod.* 4, 264), or “existing before the moon.” There was a considerable difference in the treatment of the conquered. The title of *Periæci* was applied to the rustic population round the capital (*περι, οἰκῶ*), who, though in the enjoyment of personal freedom, yet contributed to bear the burdens of the state, without participating in its privileges. In Laconia they were called Lacedæmonians, in contradistinction from the pure Spartan race. They were distributed into certain districts. Compare *Λακεδαιμόνων ἑκατόμπολις*, *Strab.* 8. p. 557. As the victors possessed the whole landed property, hence the name *γεωμόροι* (*γῆ, terra, μέλω, divido*).

duct of the Heraclidæ, laid the foundation of that power (Sparta) which was afterwards to become so formidable to the true interests of Greece, and to contest the ascendancy with Athens, its most renowned and civilized state.—Ancient manners and customs were everywhere supplanted; a spirit of sedition was diffused through the Grecian provinces, and the princely authority extirpated from its original seat, the hereditary citadel, by settlements and emigrations.

In course of time, the Doric race spread itself on all sides, from Greece to Asia Minor, Byzantium, Syracuse, and the country which sweeps round the gulf of Tarentum, including the territory afterwards known by the name of Magna Græcia, with Crotona, Locri, and Lyctus, to say nothing of Chalcis, Solium, Ambracia, Anactorium, Leucadia, Corcyra, Epidamnus, Apollonia, Chalcedon, Trogilus, Thapsos, Selinus, and other places which it conquered or colonized. On the Doric tribe, the character of severity is imprinted, which is observable in the full tones of its dialect, in its songs, its dances, the simplicity of its style of living, and in its constitutions. The governments of the Doric cities were originally more or less the government of rich and noble families. When once the reverence for ancient usage and the prescriptive rules of their lawgivers was overcome, the Dorians knew no bounds, and Tarentum exceeded all cities in luxury, just as Syracuse did in intestine feuds.—The Ionians hated every thing that could be considered as a limitation of freedom. They were very jealous about distinctions of birth or condition; they admitted none but democratic forms of government, with frequent change of magistrates; neither was the age of individuals, or the antiquity of families, respected as among the Dorians. Both were religious, patriotic, and brave; both aspired after great things; yet the Dorians had a stronger predilection for dominion, and the Ionians for glory.¹

From the year 1130 B. C. to the following century,

¹ See Rotteck, ii. 476. *Heeren, Pol. Sketch.*

there was one continued stream of emigration from the shores of Greece to the western coast of Asia Minor, which soon was covered with a chain of cities extending from the Hellespont to the boundary of Cilicia. The Æolians, who were dislodged from Thessaly, and led by the fallen house of the Atridæ (1100 B. C.), took possession of Lesbos; and, on the continent, they built twelve cities, of which Cumæ and Smyrna were the most celebrated. Soon after, the Ionians, being expelled from the Peloponnesus (1044 B. C.), established themselves, under Neleus, son of Codrus, on the central part of the coast of Asia Minor (Ionia), and occupied, at the same time, the neighbouring islands of Chios and Samos. The Ionians were united by the worship of Neptune, in Panionium, on the promontory of Mycale. The Dorians also established themselves (1000 B. C.) in the islands of Cos and Rhodes, as well as on the southern portion of the coast, where Cnidus and Halicarnassus were the most important cities. The Dorians were united by the worship of Apollo on the Triopian promontory. Not only the islands lying between Greece and Asia Minor—the so-called Cyclades were in a great measure occupied by the Ionians; but a Doric colony appears at a far earlier period to have subjugated Crete, and introduced their national institutions and laws. Similar settlements also proceeded from individual Greek cities, among which it is remarkable that Byzantium, the modern Constantinople,¹ was founded by Corinth and Megara, almost in the same year as Rome, its future rival. It will be remarked, that the Dorian and Ionian colonies generally preserved the characteristics of their respective tribes.²

Somewhat later, the tide of emigration turned towards

¹ The Turks call it *Stamboul*, or *Istamboul*, a Turkish corruption of the modern Greek phrase *ἐς τὰν πόλιν*.

² A peculiar custom, similar to the old Italian '*Ver Sacrum*,' was the sending forth consecrated bands, *ἀνθρώπων ἀπαρχαί*, such as the migrations of the Magnesians, the Ænians, the Chalcidians (to Rhegium), &c.—*Müll. Dor.* i. 257, 258, 260, 265.

the west. In Sicily we have Messana, Agrigentum, and Syracuse. On the coasts of lower Italy, which soon assumed the name of Magna Græcia, we have Tarentum founded by the Lacedæmonians, the effeminate Sybaris by the Achæans, and Croton by the Argives, along with a chain of towns extending by way of Rhegium and Pæstum, to Cumæ and Naples. The remark of Cicero, that a Grecian border, as it were, was attached to the territory of the barbarians,¹ may be regarded as applying to all those countries which extended from the coasts of Spain to the innermost creek of the Pontus, for the Greeks seldom effected settlements in the interior. And in the now desolate Barca, on the coast of Libya, Cyrene with its colonies enjoyed considerable prosperity, and proved that Greeks remained true to their origin, even in Africa; for wherever they fixed their settlements, their energy of character eminently distinguished them from the surrounding nations.

The Greek colonies of antiquity seem to have been for the most part founded by citizens, whom the violence and fury of contending factions forced to leave their native land; but they were sometimes formed for the purpose of relieving the mother country of a redundant population, and sometimes also for the purpose of extending the sphere of their commercial transactions, or providing for their security.² The great bulk of the colonies were really independent states; and, though they commonly regarded the land of their forefathers with filial respect, though they

¹ *De Repub.* p. 132. *Wachsmuth*, vol. i. p. 71. Trans.

² Seneca has given in a few words a very clear and accurate statement of the different motives that induced the ancients to found colonies:—"Nec omnibus eadem causa relinquendi quærendique patriam fuit. Alios excidia urbium suarum, hostilibus armis elapsos, in aliena, spoliatis suis, expulerunt: alios domestica seditio submovit: alios nimia superfluentis populi frequentia, ad exonerandas vires, emisit: alios pestilentia, aut frequens terrarum hiatus, aut aliqua intoleranda infelici soli ejecerunt: quosdam fertilis oræ, et in majus laudatæ, fama corruptit: alios alia causa excivit domibus suis (*Consol. ad Helviam*, c. 6.)."—*M'Culloch's Dictionary*, Art. COLONY.

yielded to its citizens the place of distinction at public games and religious solemnities, and were expected to assist them in time of war, they did so as allies only, on fair and equal terms, and never as subjects. Owing to the freedom of their institutions, and their superiority in the arts of civilized life to the native inhabitants of the countries among whom they resided, these colonies rose, in a comparatively short period, to a high pitch of opulence and refinement; and many among them, as Miletus and Ephesus in Asia Minor, Syracuse and Agrigentum in Sicily, and Tarentum and Locri in Italy, not only equalled, but greatly surpassed their mother cities in wealth and power.

The geographical knowledge of the Greeks was much extended by the expedition to Troy, and the "wanderings" of the heroes and princes upon their return home. The poems of Homer describe accurately the interior of Greece, with Thessaly, Epirus, and the Greek islands, the greatest part of Asia Minor, and give us also the cities and rivers. Egypt also occurs in them, but as a country lying at a vast distance; the great, the powerful Thebes is here named. The Cimmerians in the north, the Lotophagi (or lotus-eaters), and the gardens of the Hesperides on the coast of Libya; Sicily, with its wonders—the Cyclops, and Scylla and Charybdis, are dimly seen in the earliest Grecian mythology.¹ Homer's knowledge of the West extends, indeed, beyond Sicily, to the pillars of Hercules (*Calpe* and *Abyla*), near the *Herculeum Fretum*, or the straits of Gibraltar, but without accurate limits, and veiled in the most wonderful traditions. The boundaries of the earth, which Homer represents as a circular plane, surrounded on every side by the "ocean-stream," are occupied by fabulous nations, amongst which the Æthiopians only, in the south and south-east, appear to have any real and historical existence.—The poems of Hesiod, who flourished nearly a century later, first mention the Danube and the Phasis; and we also

¹ *Heeren*, Political History, &c.

discern a faint glimmer of the Pyrenees—north of which the Hyperboreans occupy the place of the Cimmerians of Homer. The riches of these countries gave rise to wonderful traditions. Hesiod first mentions the golden apples of the Hesperides, and the dragons by which they were guarded. Italy is known to him as a happy country: he names the Tyrrhenians and Latins.

CHAPTER IV.

ESTABLISHMENT OF REPUBLICS.—SPARTA.

*Greek Colonies—Change of Government—Institutions of Lycurgus—
Their Character—Messenian Wars.*

THE growth of the Greek colonies, combined with the internal revolutions in the mother country, contributed very much to develop the democratic form of government which succeeded the political constitutions of the heroic ages. The Ionian Greeks occupying a beautiful line of coast, having convenient and capacious harbours before them, and, behind, the wealthy and populous nations of Asia, whose trade they engrossed, attained such a rapid proficiency in the arts of commerce and navigation as raised the cities of Miletus, Colophon, and Phocæa to an extraordinary pitch of opulence and power. Amongst the Greeks in Asia Minor, civilization therefore made still more rapid strides¹ than in the mother country, where a more dense

¹ Till the period of the Trojan war, the Greeks were in a state of comparative barbarism; and the succeeding period was too fruitful in civil commotions to favour the progress of science and art (p. 18). It was among the Asiatic Greeks, and under the mild influence of an Ionian sky, that the dawn of intellect commenced. "The spirit of philosophical research first manifested itself in Ionia; hence it extended to some of the neighbouring colonies; subsequently into **Magna Græcia**, until the conquests of the Persians and the troubles of southern Italy compelled it to take refuge in Athens; from which, as a centre, it radiated over the whole of Greece."—*Tennemann*, p. 58.

population and a less fertile soil opposed obstructions to the progress of the species. The colonies acquired wealth and liberty. The mother country felt the full operation of these causes, and the kings "fell like ripe fruit" before the growing influence of the democracy. This revolution, if it may be so termed, was gradual. In Thebes the regal dignity was abolished during the commotions of the Heraclidæ, 1100 B. C.; in Athens, after the death of Codrus, 1068. Argos obtained a free administration, 984 B. C.; Elis, 780; and Messene, 740. Sparta and Corinth may be considered as somewhat in the light of exceptions;—Sparta retaining its mixed form of monarchy and aristocracy, and Corinth continuing, more or less, under the dominion of the Bacchidæ, or descendants of Bacchis.

The mode, in which the democratic government was gradually introduced, may be thus stated. The nobles, who appear so conspicuous in the heroic ages, kept the government¹ for the most part in their own hands, after the extinction of the regal power; and, as the governing order, they were distinguished by three characteristics: the possession of property, military honour, and the hereditary transmission of these privileges. This form of government was termed an Aristocracy, or the government of the most eminent.² But when the noble families abused their power,

¹ See p. 105, note. The first traces of this change are also discovered in Homer, in those instances in which a state has several kings, as among the Phæaces (*Od.* viii. 390). Here the actual ruler stands only as the first among equals (*βασιλεύτατος*. *Il.* ix. 69), and the right of hereditary succession is no otherwise established than by a common understanding (*Od.* i. 386—402). The rise of aristocracy may, in fact, be dated from the first moment in which the responsibility of kings was maintained. From the time of Medon, in Athens, the distinction between *βασιλεύς* and *τύραννος*, consisted in responsibility. See *Hermann*, pp. 107, 108.

² *ἄριστοι*. Aristotle defines nobility to be "ancient wealth and virtue" (*ἀρχαῖος πλοῦτος καὶ ἀρετή*. *Pol.* iv. 6, 5). Wealth subsequently became an essential qualification of the knights, and heavy armed infantry; and individual superiority, *ἀρετή*, was applied either to civil or military excellence. Both were considered inseparable from noble birth in early times, when, as yet, there was no property but that

the people saw nothing in their rule but the usurpation of a few¹ against the many; hence their government, when viewed in this light, was termed an Oligarchy. As foreign commerce became more extensive, and the military profession declined in popular estimation, the wealth of the one class began to struggle against the nobility of the other. Hence the people,² impatient of superiority, unless associated, as in the heroic ages, with eminent personal merit, became more and more desirous to have a share in the government (*i. e.* democracy); the republican spirit growing stronger as the territories of individual states became narrowed. The *census* or property qualification³ was, therefore, established in many states by express constitutions, by convention, or by violence. These popular commotions, in many instances, originated tyrannies (in the Greek sense⁴) which, though frequently becoming hereditary, and deriving strength from

of hereditary lands, and personal prowess seemed rather connected with descent, than the effect of art or discipline. As the nobles led a life of knightly ease, education was considered as the characteristic feature of an aristocracy. See *Hermann*, p. 109. The rise of a tyranny, or the establishment of a dynasty (*i. e.* the tyranny of several), was carefully guarded against, lest they should overthrow what Thucydides terms *ὀλιγαρχία ἰσόνομος* (iii. 62). Those districts were particularly favourable to oligarchy, where agriculture was the chief occupation; the commoners being bound to the farms, and dispersed over the country in villages and hamlets (*κατὰ κώμας, κωμηδόν. Thuc.*). But, in Attica, a barren soil, and an advantageous position, invited to trade and navigation; hence its early democratic tendency. "The inhabitants of the Piræus are more democratic than those of the city." *Arist. Pol.* v. 212.

¹ Ὀλίγοι.

² Δῆμος.

³ A Timocracy paid no regard to nobility, but made a property-qualification (*τίμημα, census*) the basis of government.

⁴ A tyrant is one who exercises the supreme power to the exclusion of the people; but the term had originally no relation to the abuse of that power. Previous to the rise of "tyrannies," says Thucydides, "kingdoms were hereditary, with fixed privileges," *πρότερον δὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς γέραςι πατρικαὶ βασιλείαι, i. e.* in the Heroic Age (i. 13). During this period, there were no distant expeditions—no combinations for a general object. The wars were merely quarrels amongst the occupants of contiguous territories (*ἀστυγείρονες*); the tyrants were too much occupied in attending to their own security to achieve any thing worthy of being recorded (i. 15—17). Sparta always enjoyed a free constitution, and assisted in breaking up tyrannies (i. 18).

external connexions, fell into general decay in the sixth century before the Christian era.¹

The free states, thus formed, were merely cities with their districts; and their constitutions, consequently, were only forms of city-government. Wherever a civil union has been effected by voluntary combination, it has been amongst the inhabitants of a small district; great states can only be formed by violence. In the one, we recognize despotism or the rights of war; in the other, the influence of the popular will. Yet, when Heeren observes that all the free-states of antiquity had merely a city-government, we must be careful to distinguish the ruling portion of the community from the community itself. Some cities forming the union might be in a state of complete subjection; and other cities might find their liberties abridged by the preponderating influence of the Metropolis.²

The districts into which Greece was divided did not form so many states; but the same province often contained as many states as it possessed independent cities; though a whole district sometimes formed the territory of but one city, as Attica of Athens, Laconia of Sparta, &c., and, in such case, formed, of course, but one state. But it might easily happen that the cities of one district, especially if the inhabitants were of kindred tribes, formed confederacies for mutual defence. In political affairs of importance, the federal council seldom possessed binding efficacy; it was not a joint assembly, by which the cause of each state might be amicably adjusted, or judicially decided. These alliances had only reference to foreign relations;³ and thus

¹ The difference between the "royalties" (*βασιλείαι*) of the heroic ages and the "tyrannies" (*τυραννίδες*) of succeeding times, is explained by Aristotle (*Polit.*), and Xenophon (*Repub. Spartan.*)

² See *Rotteck*, i. pp. 376, 377. From Xenophon (*Hellen.* iii. 2.31), we learn that the Spartans would not deprive the vanquished Eleans of the presidency of the Olympic games, because the Pisatans, who aspired to it, had no town, and, therefore, could not be recognized as a state.

³ *Συμμαχία*, alliance, offensive and defensive (*Thuc.* vi. 11); *ἐπιμαχία*, defensive only (i. 44; iii. 70; v. 48).

they formed a confederation of cities, but not one state; for each individual city had its own internal constitution, and managed its own concerns.¹ The period of the formation of these free states is the darkest in Grecian history.

Out of the many unions of smaller states, connected with each other either by situation or original descent, some, like Athens and Sparta, or Thebes, elevated themselves to greater power than the rest. A city, illustrated by the glory of heroic princes, or by the establishment of a new dynasty (as Thebes, Thessaly), might continue to exercise a supremacy over the inhabitants of the surrounding district, even after the rise of republican institutions. Thus the federal cities in Bœotia sent contingent troops commanded by Bœotarchs; and the Thessalians were likewise associated by a military alliance, under a commander called *Tagos*.² In the most brilliant and eventful period of Grecian history, the remaining cities and districts appear only as appendages to Sparta and Athens. We shall now direct our attention to these two states, until their affairs mingle with the general current of Grecian history.

Lycurgus, who may, in fact, be considered as the founder of Spartan greatness, was commissioned, 888 B.C. to draw up a code of laws for the government of the state.³

¹ *Heeren's Political Sketch*, pp. 90, 91. The most unbounded desire for separation, politically speaking, existed among the Greeks; every community that was able to subsist individually, disregarded all obligations which involved the necessity of dependence. *Wachsmuth*, vol. i. p. 148. Cf. *Thuc.* iv. 102. Even single towns of a confederacy formed separate alliances in peace and war.

² *Tayòç. Thuc.* iv. 78; *Xen. Hell.* vi. 1. 6. *Wachsmuth*, vol. i. pp. 191, 192. The gradations, from the most relaxed to the strictest state of dependence, may be thus stated:—1. The taxation of the dependent state. 2. The demand of subsidies and supplies, and the command of the contingents. 3. Paramount jurisdiction, the regulation of the magistracy, and general interference with internal matters. *Ibid.* 190.

³ A striking resemblance is stated to exist between the institutions of the Lacedæmonian and Cretan states. Plato (*de Legg.* iii. p. 683) calls them ἀδελφοὶ νόμοι, and others assert that Lycurgus improved the institutions of Minos. Polybius (vi. 45) denies all resemblance; but that refers to another period. Homer mentions a threefold

The first care of the legislator was directed to the hardy and vigorous education of children. Boys remained under the superintendence of their parents until they had completed their seventh year; and from that period their education was committed to the care of the state. They were accustomed, betimes, to the endurance of every species of pain;¹ and they were permitted to purloin the means of subsistence, provided they exhibited either dexterity or boldness. Rigid obedience to elders² was inculcated as the most sacred of duties. Hence the basis of the Spartan military discipline, namely, rigid obedience, and a capacity for command equally diffused; whilst an education so toilsome was compensated by the additional authority which accrued to the individual at each successive stage of seniority.³ Weak and deformed children were not brought up, but exposed in a cavern near Mount Taygetus. The men ate in public at a common table.⁴ The beverage was black broth; but we cannot state its ingredients.

division of the Dorians in Crete (*Odyss.* 19, 177, *τριχάκιες*), in conformity with the names of the three Doric *phylæ*, viz. Hyllæi, Dymanes, and Pamphiles. The Cretan *Cosmi* differed from the Spartan *Ephori* merely in having the command of the army. Compare *κοσμήτορες ἀνδρῶν*. *Hom.* As points of resemblance, in private life, between the two people, we may instance the warlike character of their education (compare the *κυβρίχαι*, or war-dances of the *Curetes*), the legal sanction of *pæderasty*, the contempt of agriculture, and the common public tables, called *ἀγέλαι* (of youths) and *ἀνδρεῖα* (of men).

¹ Hence Horace speaks of "*patiens Lacedæmon*" (i. *Od.* 7, 10). "*Summa virtus in patientiâ ponebatur.*" *Nep. Alc.* 11. The inhabitants were called Lacedæmonii, Lacones, or Spartani; and as they affected great conciseness of expression, hence Stylus Laconicus, or Laconismus, is put for brevity. *Cic. Fam.* xi. 25. The Doric dialect is distinguished by its *πλατειασμός*, or broad pronunciation.

² The young man, from the age of twenty, when he began to be called *εἰρην* (i.e. *ἀρχων*. *Her.* 9, 85), exercised a direct authority over his juniors in their several classes *ἀγέλαι*, or *βούαι* (hence termed *βοναγός*), being at the same time answerable for its exercise to all his seniors. Hence Cicero calls Lacedæmon "*honestissimum domicilium senectutis*" (*de Sen.* c. 18).

³ So Xenophon speaks of the obedience and self-control manifested by Spartans (*de Rep.* c. 3.)

⁴ *Συσσίτια* (σὺν, σίτος). It is sometimes termed *φειδισία* from its frugality. Some, however, read *φιλιρία*.

By means of these, and similar regulations, Lycurgus converted the Spartans into invincible warriors. The occupations of the Gymnasium, the chase, the *pheiditia*,¹ *leschæ* (or places of public assembly), left the Spartans but little time for the enjoyments of private life; whilst, on the other hand, the masculine education of the Spartan women gradually effaced every characteristic of female excellence. The strength of the Spartan army lay in its heavy armed infantry; cavalry was but little resorted to till the time of the Peloponnesian war. The Spartan phalanx advanced to meet the enemy at a regular step; for the Spartans were characterized, not by an enthusiastic, but by a cool and determined courage. The rule which prohibited plunder during an engagement, and the custom of never pursuing a flying enemy, contributed to preserve the ranks unbroken. The Spartans seem to have but seldom employed peltasts, the scientific organization of which, by Iphicrates, connected, as it was, with the training of mercenaries in general, gave the first blow to their military superiority. Xenophon has described with what facility the Spartans wheeled in all directions; converted the column of march into an order of battle; and, by skilful and rapid evolutions, presented the strength of the line to an unexpected assault. After battle, every soldier was obliged to produce his shield,² as a proof that he had fought or retired, as a soldier ought to do, bravely and steadily.

The military passion was, therefore, the all-engrossing passion; for the Spartans did not cultivate the arts and sciences. All buying and selling were prohibited—commerce was confined merely to barter, as only iron money³ was

¹ *Φειδιρία*, the frugal repast mentioned above (*φειδομαι, parco, parcè utor*).

² As the Spartan matron is said to have expressed it, *ἢ τὰν, ἢ ἐνὶ τῷ*. "Bring this shield home, or be borne upon it."

³ The fact is doubted by *Pauw*, ii. p. 172. *Eckhel*, i. 2, p. 178. *Manso, Sparta*, i. §. 162. We are told that the land was equally divided among the Spartans; a fact which, at least, is consonant with the object of Lycurgus, namely, great equality of property. The king had their *ρεμίνη* (p. 108).

allowed to circulate. Virgins received no dowries, strangers were not tolerated,¹ and supernumerary citizens were sent off in colonies. Trade and commerce were left to the inhabitants of the other cities and the country,² who were excluded from political privileges; and all servile offices were performed by the Helots.³ The man-hunting of the Helots was termed *Crypteia*,⁴ a military exercise in which the Helots frequently fell victims; but this must be ascribed to individual cruelty rather than express legislation.⁵

The government, which Lycurgus established, was administered by a senate,⁶ consisting of twenty-eight members, not under sixty years of age, who were chosen by the people for life; they were irresponsible in office, and without appeal⁷ as a court of judicature. The two kings, whose power was very limited, sat in this assembly as presidents, but had only⁸ one voice; they commanded the armies in war. The popular assemblies, including all citizens of pure Spartan descent except those who were too poor to contribute to the public meals, determined upon war or peace; and, in fact, they had a right of deciding⁹ upon the propositions of the senate. In after-times supreme magistrates, presidents of the council and of the popular assembly, were created under the title of Ephori.¹⁰ These magistrates, in course of time, appropriated

¹ By the *Ξενελασία*, the Spartans were forbidden to travel.

² *Περίοικοι*.

³ The inhabitants of the conquered cities experienced a much harder lot, differing from that of slaves only in the circumstance that their masters were not at liberty to kill or sell them out of the country; they tilled the soil, paying their masters a fixed portion of the annual produce; attended them on military service as servants, *θεράποντες*, acting at the same time as light armed troops, whence they were called *κορυνηφόροι* in Sicyon, and in Argos *Γυμνήτες*, or *Γυμνήσιοι*; in Lacedæmon they were called Helots, &c. See *Hermann*, p. 41.

⁴ From *κρυπτός*, secret.

⁵ See *Wachsmuth*, vol. i. p. 326.

⁶ *Γερουσία*.

⁷ *Αυτογνώμονες και άνυπεύθυνοι*, as in Crete. *Aristot. Pol.* ii. 6.

⁸ The reverse of this is mentioned by Thucydides as a popular error (i. 20.)

⁹ By a simple aye, or no, *βοῶν και οὐ ψήφω*. *Thuc.* i. 87. They were not allowed to debate the matter or propose amendments.

¹⁰ Lycurgus appears to have completed what he undertook; and

all the power to themselves; they asserted the right even of judging, imprisoning, and deposing the kings. They were responsible only to their successors in office. The relation, in which the Spartans stood towards the other cities of Laconia, was that of despotism; whilst they exercised a complete tyranny over the Helots, and, afterwards, over the Messenians. Though there was a distinction of families among the Spartans, yet this had no political influence. All citizens were equal in the eye of the law; and all might attain the highest offices, with the exception of the regal, which was confined to the families of the Agidæ and Eury-pontidæ. That the Spartans had two kings, originated from the circumstance of twins being born in the royal family; yet this was a most effectual limitation of the princely power.

Lycurgus is the only legislator who has been able to combine the private interests and passions of the individual with his public duties as a citizen, to such an extent as completely to annihilate the influence of the former. This he effected by preventing inequality of property among the citizens, by introducing a uniform system of education, and by infusing into the Spartans, not only the will, but the energy to maintain their constitution. "For this," says Plutarch, "Lycurgus has educated his citizens, that they should live together unanimously like bees, no one for himself, but all for their country." To him Sparta owes an almost unbroken rest for a period of 500 years—a circumstance that was only possible by reason of its insulated situation, and the rigid adherence which the Doric race always manifested to ancient customs and institutions. There

even the Ephori are distinguished rather in name than in fact, from the guardians of the laws (*νομοφύλακες*) introduced by Lycurgus himself. See *Rotteck*, i. 381. Hermann considers the Ephori, in the time of Lycurgus, as mere police magistrates, forming a court of justice, especially charged with the decision of ordinary civil cases (*Arist. Pol.* iii. 7). The Ephori, when in the fulness of their power, could imprison any public magistrate, inflict fines without trial, decide on military expeditions, and control the commanders.

was a gradation of power, but never independent equality; and nowhere was more unqualified obedience required than at Sparta.¹ Yet that form of government must have been imperfect, which only converted citizens into warriors, demanded the sacrifice of the finest feelings of our nature, did not recognize the rights of property, extinguished commerce with foreign states, and excluded all that fostering care of science, literature,² and art, which has rendered the Athenian name immortal. Still it must ever be worthy of our admiration, for the most distinguished men of Athens, Cimon, Aristides, Themistocles, Thucydides, and Xenophon, always manifested a predilection for it.³

Messenia was the first country that felt the irresistible power of Sparta. Two or three circumstances that occurred in these wars may be noticed:—1st, Aristodemus offered his own daughter for sacrifice, in consequence of an oracle which had announced the deliverance of the Spartans in case a virgin of the royal blood should be sacrificed to the infernal gods. 2nd, It was during these wars that the magistrates,

¹ Sparta *Δαμασίμβροτος*, *domitor mortalium* (δαμάω, βροτός).—*Simon. ap. Plut. Ages.* 1.

² The laws of Lycurgus were not committed to writing, for which Pauw gives a satisfactory reason, that Lycurgus could neither read nor write. It is certain that at a later period, the Spartans, if not unacquainted with writing, were at least hostile to it.

³ The laws were committed to memory, as proverbs (*ρήτραι*), or a *carmen necessarium*, as Cicero remarks concerning the twelve tables at Rome.—*Rom. Ant.* p. 304. *Ῥήτραι*, according to *Hermann*, p. 48, means the fundamental regulations of the Spartan constitution. *He-sychius* explains the word as an oral contract, *συνθήκαι διὰ λόγων*, which may be interpreted in reference to the king and people swearing (*Xen. i.* § 7.) to preserve the laws inviolate. The *Etymologicum Magnum*, p. 703, makes *ρήτρα* the Doric expression for νόμος. The idea of "oracles," which some associate with the word (*Plut. Lyc.* c. 13.), may be accounted for, perhaps, from Lycurgus deriving his laws from the Delphic god, whose oracle ever exercised a decisive influence over the internal affairs of the Doric race. It need hardly be remarked how much "unwritten laws" would favour tyranny. In other states the written codes put an end to the irresponsible jurisdiction (*αὐτοκράτωρ ἐκάζειν*) of public officers. "Græci leges scriptas semper habuerunt pro palladio democratiae."—*Weisse*, Cf. *Æsch. adv. Ctes. c.* 2. *Andoc. de Myster*, § 85.

termed *ephor*i (inspectors), were first introduced to perform the offices devolving on the kings¹ who were absent at the head of the armies. Though deputies of the kings, they soon appropriated all the power of the state to themselves. 3rd, The Spartans, upon their return home, found that a new race had sprung up—the offspring of those young men, who, not being bound, like the rest, by an oath to prosecute the war until the Messenians were subdued, had been despatched home in order to perpetuate the hopes of a posterity. This offspring was termed *Parthenii* or sons of virgins², who, finding a certain disgrace attached to their origin, passed over to Tarentum in Italy (705 B.C.). 4th, The Spartans, having been thrown into great consternation, sent to the Athenians, at the advice of an oracle, to solicit a general. The Athenians, in consequence, sent them the lame Tyrtæus,³ who roused the military enthusiasm of the Spartans by his spirit-stirring songs.⁴

The first Messenian war extended from the year 743 to 724 B. C., and the second from 681 to 668 B. C. The deeds of Aristomenes in the second war are almost incredible. In the first war, the Spartans treated the Messenians with clemency, as a people of their own race; but, in the second, they treated them as revolted slaves. The pre-

¹ The *præfectus*, or *custos urbis*, was an officer appointed for a similar purpose at Rome.—*Rom. Antiq.* p. 157. Compare what has been remarked concerning the Ephori, p. 128.

² Niebuhr remarks, that the story of the *Parthenii*, and the founders of Locri, “lead us to suspect that the sons of marriages contracted where no right of marriage existed between the parties, were at that time disturbing the peace of several of the aristocratic republics, and that measures were taken for sending them to a distance.” Hence it was that in these settlements, the nobility traced their descent by the female side.—*Polyb.* xii. 5, 7.

³ “Tyrtæus que mares animos in martia bella
Versibus exacuit.”—*Hor.*

⁴ Pauw justly observes, “that the subjugation of Messenia was the primary cause of all the future disturbances in Greece. By this extension of her power, Sparta obtained an ascendancy over the other Greek states, and at the same time exhibited the dangerous precedent of might prevailing against right.”—*Recherches*, ii. 192.

eminence which Sparta obtained by this war over the Doric states, was further secured to her by a successful struggle with the Argives and Arcadians 550 B. C. Her military supremacy was recognized nearly through the whole of the Peloponnesus ; and her fame had spread beyond the boundaries of Greece.¹

CHAPTER V.

ATHENS.—THE CONSTITUTION OF SOLON.

Early Kings of Attica—Division of the People—Codrus—Institution of Archons—Solon—His Regulations and Institutions.

THERE cannot be a stronger proof of the early civilization of Attica, or at least of its capital city, than the remote period to which its history is carried back in a clear and consistent series. The melancholy aspect of the coast of Attica, and its comparatively poor soil, which, whilst it repressed the fear of invasion, stimulated native industry—may be considered as the principal causes of the early civilization of Athens. Thucydides specifies Thessaly, Bœotia, the greater part of the Peloponnesus, &c. with the exception of Arcadia, as particularly liable to invasion, on account of the fertility of the soil. Thus free intercourse is prevented, agriculture is neglected (the tenure of their possessions being so uncertain), neither are the cities distinguished by their size, nor do they exhibit symptoms of industrious civi-

¹ Hence ambassadors came to them from Croesus (*Her.* i. 69. ὑμέας γὰρ πυνθάνομαι προσεῖναι τῆς Ἑλλάδος), from Ionia, and even from the Scythians (vi. 84). The dissolution of tyrannies was the grand policy by which Sparta was enabled to obtain influence over the internal affairs of Greece.—*Thuc.* i. 76. 19. 144 ; v. 81, 82.

lization.—The Athenians were the first who laid aside the practice of going armed in the ordinary intercourse of life : and as they had never departed from their original seats, whereas other tribes had only become the occupants of theirs after repeated migrations—the nationality of Attica was entitled to greater respect.¹

The series of Attic princes commences with Cecrops, an Egyptian, who led a colony from Sais, and settled on the rock of the Acropolis, which received in consequence the name of Cecropia. He soon extended his dominion over the whole of Attica, which he divided into twelve districts, with a principal city in each. He was the first who instituted marriage among the Greeks. He rendered life more secure by establishing the court of Areopagus, which should take cognizance of all matters connected with blood ;² and he introduced the worship of the Saitic goddess Neith, who, under the inverted name of *A-thene* (Minerva), became the protectress of the city.³

Amongst the successors of Cecrops, we may notice 1. Amphietyon, son of Deucalion of Thessaly. 2. Erechtheus the first, or Erichthonius, who instituted the festival called Athenæa, in honour of Minerva. He also dedicated to the same goddess a temple (*Erechtheium*) on the Acropolis,

¹ Hence *Autochthones* (aborigines) was used by the Athenians as synonymous with *Eupatridæ* (nobles).—*Mæris, sub voce ; Schol. Soph. Elect.* 25.

² In the time of Homer the murderer usually flies, and lives for ever in exile ; but sometimes, if he can appease the relations, he redeems his blood-guiltiness for a stipulated sum of money, and then the avenger of blood threatens him no more (*Il.* ix. 632). This indicates the defective state of judicial administration. From the avenger pursuing the murderer who fled, we suppose that the terms *ὁ δῶκεων*, the prosecutor or plaintiff, and *ὁ φεύγων*, the defendant, are derived.

³ Cecrops may be considered as the founder of this state, which was afterwards to illuminate all lands. "Ex quâ urbe doctrina in omnes terras distributa est."—*Cic.* Supposing we should conclude with Wachsmuth (i. 1. § 225.) and Hermann (p. 175.) that this series of kings has been raked together by "drudges in Attic legends," and that the whole early history of Attica is fabulous—the series will still have its use in connecting together acknowledged facts.

which is alluded to by Homer in the second book of the Iliad. 3. Pandion the first, in whose reign some suppose that the Eleusinian mysteries were instituted by Triptolemus, though others ascribe their introduction to Eumolpus, son of Musæus (1356 B. C.). 4. Erechtheus the second. 5. Ægeus, who reigned thirty-nine years. The population of Greece, at this early period, must have been considerable, as the Greek settlers had already begun to dislodge the Phœnicians and Carians from the islands of the Archipelago.¹ 6. Theseus, his son (1240 ?), who cleared the country from robbers, and relieved Athens from a disgraceful tribute to the king of Crete: *viz.* seven young men and maidens, to be devoured by the Minotaur.² He laid the foundation of the early pre-eminence of his country, by founding the Prytaneum as a court of judicature common to all Attica, and by establishing the Panathenæa as a festival for the whole province, and the Isthmian games on the borders of his territory, enlarged by the conquest of Megara.³ This latter *Panegyris*, or festival, was probably intended to unite the Ionians of Attica and the Peloponnesus.

The division of the people into four tribes or castes (*phylæ*) was very ancient. The *Argadeis* (tillers of the plain) and *Ægicoreis* (goat-herds of the mountains) probably denoted the natives of the soil engaged in husbandry and

¹ That most of the islands were inhabited by Carians and Phœnicians, Thucydides (i. 8) adduces as an argument that, when the island of Delos was purified during the Peloponnesian war, and the graves were opened, above half of the dead were recognised to be Carians, from their mode of burial, and the armour in which they were buried.

² An offering of gratitude to Theseus (on account of the Minotaur) was annually sent to Delos, in his ship Theoris. Some suppose that the visit of Theseus to Crete, so renowned for the institutions of Minos (p. 102), exercised considerable influence upon his after legislation.

³ Theseus formed a town at the foot of the old Cecropian citadel, and designated Athens, *τὸ ἄστυ τῇ τε πόλιν* (*Plut.*), by way of distinction, as *Liv.* 34, 1. *in urbe oppidove*. *Astu*, Athens, by way of eminence. *Πόλις* continued to be used in the sense of *ἀκρόπολις*. On the distinction between *urbs* and *oppidum*, as applied to Rome, see *Rom. Antiq.* p. 1.

cattle-breeding; the *Hopletes* the warlike Ionic settlers; and the *Teleontes* or *Geleontes* the consecrated priests of Eleusis. Each tribe or phyle stood upon an equal footing in relation to the state. Each tribe was divided into three orders or gradations: *Demiurgi*, artificers, work-people; *Eupatridæ*, the nobility; and *Geomori*, who were charged with the cultivation of the estates of the nobility, the proprietors, and denominated *Hectemorii*, either because they delivered a sixth portion of the produce to their masters, or retained it for their own use. To the nobility, in which tribe the priests are also included, Theseus committed the choice of magistrates, the administration of the laws, and the teaching of religion; and they served as knights in the foremost ranks of the army. The citizens, in other respects, were reduced to a perfect equality: the nobles excelling the rest in honour, the husbandmen in profit, and the artificers in number.

The inhabitants of Attica, says Plato, resembled in their primeval state the Egyptians, as to their division into hereditary classes and professions.¹ Theseus was the first, says Aristotle, who voluntarily parted with the regal power; which Homer also appears to attest in his catalogue of the ships, where he gives the name of *people* to the Athenians alone.² From the time of Theseus³ the kings were re-

¹ This hypothesis of division into castes has many opponents; but it may be stated that, at a later period, not only were certain orders of priesthood in many states hereditary; but other offices, arts and professions (as the *Homeridæ* in Chios, the *Asclepiadæ* in Cos, &c.) were, in like manner, peculiar to certain families. We, moreover, find "pupil and son" for many successive generations, designated by the same term; hence the circumlocutions *ιατρῶν παῖδες*, *ζωγράφων* and others, for *ιατροί*, *ζωγράφοι*, &c. Again, Herodotus (ii. 167) compares the contempt in which manual labour was held by the Greeks, with the grades of the Egyptian castes. See Hermann, p. 10. and notes.

² See p. 109, note 4. Homer applies to Athens the epithets of *εὐκτίμενος* "well built," and *εὐρύγυις*, "broad-streeted."

³ On the *σφοδρὰ βασιλείῳ*, Pausanias found the inscription *Θησεύς, δημοκρατία, δῆμος*, i. 3. 2. Isocrates (*Panath.* 439.) represents the departure of Theseus from Athens as a voluntary abdication to make room for democracy. But it is probable that, according to the traditions, he was exiled by his opponents.

stricted to the office of generals and supreme judges. The legislative power was shared by the people; yet the nobility oppressed the other two classes, the husbandmen and artificers. The oppression increased in rigour after the abolition of the regal power, for the Archons were partly too weak to resist the nobility, and partly, as belonging to the same order, felt a common interest with them.

Amongst the successors of Theseus we may mention Mnestheus, who lost his life at the siege of Troy, and is said to have effected the expulsion of Theseus from Athens; and Demophoon, in whose reign the court of Ephetæ was instituted, for the purpose of trying persons accused of wilful murder. Codrus was the last king of Athens. During his reign the Dorians were on the point of invading Attica. Codrus being informed that the oracle had promised them victory if they did not kill the king of the Athenians, disguised himself in a woodman's garb, and voluntarily sought his death in the enemy's camp (1068 a.c.). The invaders, discovering what had happened, retreated without striking a blow. After him no one was found worthy of the regal dignity. A dispute arose between his two sons, Neleus and Medon, concerning the right of succession. Neleus, irritated at the preference given to his brother, headed the Ionian migrations to Asia Minor; but Medon and his descendants held the reins of government only as Archons, amenable to the aristocracy or the Eupatridæ.¹ With the archonship of Medon commences the responsibility of political functionaries; not that there existed any tribunal, as at a later period, to take cognizance of the royal acts, but the national council of the nobles began to take a more influential part in the proceedings of government.²

¹ Hermann, p. 199. As personal strength and stateliness were accounted essential requisites for the princely office, Neleus refused to acknowledge his lame brother Medon as king (*Paus.* 7.2.1). Hence the tradition never omits to state when a prince was deformed.—*Wachsmuth*, i. p. 129.

² The *Εὐθύνη* is therefore of later date.

The dignity of Archonship was at first retained for life, and descended in the line of the Codridæ, and that of their near relations, the Alcæonidæ. Alcæon was the last Archon for life; and the duration of the office was subsequently limited to ten years 752-682 B.C. After Hippomenes, who was the fourth in the list of decennial Archons, other Eupatridæ, besides the families above mentioned, were admitted to a share of power. Afterwards nine archons were created, and the term of holding office was reduced to a year 682 B.C.—592 B.C.¹ The first of these archons was termed Eponymus, who gave his name to the year; thus we say in the "archonship of Solon," instead of 594 B.C. or Ol. 46, 3. The second was called Basileus, who superintended religious matters (compare the *Rex Sacrifculus* of the Romans); and the third as Polemarch, superintended the military department. Each of these archons was furnished with two assessors.² The remaining six were Thesmothetæ, at the head of the judicial administration. But it must be observed, that this division and limitation of functions were introduced at a later period. The Polemarch commanded the left wing (as at Marathon), but when particular generals were afterwards appointed, he merely exercised a superintendence over strangers. If any one insulted an archon, he was deprived of his civil

¹ The annual archons were elected from among the nobility (ἐξ *ἐπαριδων*), of which series Solon Codrides is to be considered as last. In the place of this, Solon substituted a timocracy (government by men who are possessed of a certain income); and, henceforth, eligibility no longer depended upon birth, but upon property. Lastly, Aristides gave all the Athenians the right of filling the situation of Archon, a right which the people had earned in battle by their blood.—*Böckh's Public Economy of Athens*, vol. ii. p. 277-8, *Note, Eng. Trans.* The conduct of Aristides will not be considered as a matter of surprise, when we reflect that he did it for a generation in which all, by equal zeal for the public interest, by equal obedience to the laws, and by equal sacrifices for the common weal, had proved themselves equally worthy of command (*Isoc. Paneg.* c. 22, especially p. 56, *Ed. Spohn*) *Hermann*, p. 220. Plutarch says that Aristides carried this measure with secret reluctance, *ἐκὼν ἀέκοντι δὲ θύμῳ*; but Greeks, with arms in their hands, were not to be trifled with. ² *Πάρεδροι*.

privileges, and became infamous;¹ but, on the other hand, the punishment of an archon, in case of guilt, was proportionably severe.²

The first archon of whom we hear anything really worthy of notice is Draco (624 B.C.). He awarded the punishment of death for the smallest offences, as well as the most heinous crimes; for which indiscriminating severity he gave no other reason than that the smallest faults appeared to him to be worthy of death, and that he could find no higher punishment for the greatest. Hence the orator Demades said, that his laws were written with blood. Draco, it must be observed, belonged to the Eupatridæ, who, perhaps, finding themselves unable to withstand the general clamour for a written code of laws, made their very compliance an opportunity for sanctioning measures of the most rigorous description. Why the people should raise a clamour for a written and definite code, may be easily understood, when we reflect that the archons, who belonged to the Eupatridæ, were the administrators of justice without appeal. A court of appeal (the *Epheta*) appears to have originated with Draco; but his laws tended only to increase the evils which they were designed to remedy.³ They were not termed laws,⁴ but regulations,⁵ out of contempt.

Twelve years after the legislation of Draco, Cylon attempted to make himself tyrant; and his adherents were murdered by the Alcæonidæ. The people derived

¹ Ἀρχος.

² The Basileis, Prytanes, and Archons, were magistrates who went forth from the common and sacred hearth of the state with a mission to watch over all matters connected with the public worship.—*Arist. Polit.* 6. 5. 11. In reference to the sacred fire in the Prytaneum. During the heroic age the sacred hearth of the state was in the princely castle where the council used to assemble round it; and, in after-times, the Prytaneum was fixed upon for the place of honour and the public meals.—See *Wachsmuth*, vol. i. p. 290.

³ *Aristot. de Civ.* l. ii. *Plut. in Solon.*

⁴ Νόμοι.

⁵ Θεσμοί.

strength from the continuance of party feuds, and became loud in their demands for political rights and equal laws. The Athenians were also engaged in carrying on a war with Megara about the recovery of Salamis. In this war they suffered so many defeats, that a law was at last passed declaring it capital for any person to propose to retake it. At this period, Solon first distinguished himself, by the composition of an elegy with respect to Salamis,¹ which inflamed the minds of the people so, that the law was ultimately rescinded. Solon was also the cause of terminating the first sacred war (590 B. C.) against Cyrrha or Crissa.

At this period, the people were divided into three factions; the *Diacriæi*, led by Pisistratus; the *Pediæi*, by Lycurgus; and the *Parali*,² by Megacles. The first declared positively for democracy; the second, who were far more opulent, were in favour of an oligarchy; and the third party, who inhabited the sea-coast, were friendly to a mixed government. According to Plutarch, too, the poor having become indebted to the rich who had engrossed the whole of the landed property, either tilled their grounds, and paid them the sixth part of the produce, or impignorated their persons for their debts³; in other words, became slaves, and were transferable, by sale, as such.⁴ In this extremity the eyes of all were turned towards Solon; and he was chosen archon⁵ without having recourse to the ballot, an irregularity of which we have no other example. He was invested with full powers to remodel the state; or, in other words, to give the Athenians a constitution, 594 B. C.

¹ The attempt of Cylon on the tyranny at Athens, which was supported by his father-in-law, Theagenes of Megara, excited a feeling against the latter place; and Salamis, which had probably till that time been Megarian, was conquered.—*Wachsmuth*, i. 205.

² On these epithets, see *Geog.* ch. iv. note 1.

³ This was termed *nexum inire* among the Romans.

⁴ Ἀγῶμοι ἐπὶ σώμασιν, *nexi ob æs alienum*.

⁵ The legislative functions of Draco and Solon coincided with their archonship, it is true; but it is much more probable that they were annexed to the dignity, than that on their account the archonship was conferred upon the legislators. *Wachsmuth*, vol. i. p. 304.

Solon abrogated all the laws of Draco, with the exception of those relative to murder, and to criminal cases. The scheme by which he relieved the distresses of the poorer classes has been the subject of dispute.¹ Some say that he cancelled all debts then in existence; but others, with greater probability, that he only lowered the rate of interest, and increased the value of money; so that a mina, which before was equal to seventy-three drachmas, was now made equal to a hundred.² It seems certain that Solon annulled all mortgages, and fully reinstated every landowner in his property; otherwise he could not boast that he had removed the 'boundary stones'³ which were set up on mortgaged lands. He also abolished servitude for debt in the same manner as the *Lex Pœtelia* abolished it at Rome.⁴

Without depriving the Eupatridæ of their rights, Solon, desirous of amalgamating them with the wealthy and thus breaking the violence of party, selected property, or rather taxable capital, as his guide for the distribution of all the citizens into four classes. The two first classes served on horseback,⁵ for cavalry formed the noblest kind of service, as connected with the possession of landed property; the third class as heavy armed infantry (*Hoplitæ*); and the fourth as light armed troops. He extended to all the citizens the right of sitting in the courts, and taking part in the public assemblies—originally, indeed, only for the purpose of electing magistrates, and controlling them by way of last resort. The last class (*Thētes*), as the poorest, were excluded from all public offices; though they had a voice in the election of those who aspired to fill them. They were,

¹ Solon called this scheme *seisachthia*, from *σειω*, to shake (off), and *ἄχθος*, a burden. The explanation that Solon cancelled all debts (*χρεῶν ἀποκοπή*, *novæ tabulæ*), is decidedly at variance with the passage in the oath of the Heliasts. *Dem. Timocr.* 746.

² There is no doubt that this scheme was a direct violation of the rights of property; but the simple question is, how far it was justified by the necessities of the times?

⁴ *Roman Ant.* p. 210.

³ *Ὀροί*.

⁵ *ἱππεῖς*.

at the same time, exempted from all contributions to the wants of the state. The property of the different classes was estimated in *medimni*, an Attic measure of capacity for things dry; hence *Pentacosimedimni*, those who had 500 *medimni*, or upwards. The assessment of this class amounted to a talent; and the other classes, except the lowest, were assessed, upon the same scale, in the ratio of their property.¹

The nine archons have been already mentioned (p. 136). The most important part of the legislative and executive power was possessed by the council of 400, afterwards 500, composed of the most eminent and powerful citizens. The elections were annual, and the candidates submitted to a rigorous examination² into their past lives. To the care of this council was committed the preparation and publishing of all motions, before they were submitted to an assembly of the people.³ No motion could, therefore, be submitted to the popular assembly until it had emanated from the senate; hence they possessed what is termed the 'Initiative' in legislation. No person under thirty years of age could be admitted a member of the council. The council was divided into *Prytanies*—each of which ruled a certain number of days— assembling daily to deliberate on the course to be pursued, and, in case of need, to prepare matters for the popular assembly. The succeeding history will shew us to what extent Athens was led by individuals, not invested with any civil or military power, but who had won the confidence of the people by their eminent virtues, or talents for oratory.⁴

¹ Solon did not overlook the condition of slaves. He secured them, in some measure, against the ill treatment of their masters, by granting them an asylum in the temple of Theseus, and other sacred places, where they could claim the privilege of being sold to another master (*πρᾶσιν αἰρεῖσθαι*). Deserving aliens were naturalized, when 6,000 citizens declared themselves in favour of the measure; but this naturalization did not confer upon them the full privileges of citizenship. For instance, they were not eligible to the priesthood or archonship; they could not give evidence, or exercise full authority over their wives.

² *Δοκιμασία.*

³ *Ἐκκλησία.*

⁴ Hence *πολιτεύεσθαι* = *δημηγορεῖν*, and is distinguished from *στρατηγεῖν*.

On the other hand, Solon laboured earnestly to render the ancient and venerable court of Areopagus¹ the pillar of his form of government. The Areopagus, besides taking cognizance of capital crimes (its ancient jurisdiction), was invested with the superintendence of religion, morality, and education. The privilege continued for life, and was only accessible to those who had filled the office of archon with zeal and fidelity. In their censorship of luxury and morals, the Areopagites may be compared with the Roman censors; and in their superintendence of the public buildings and the public health, they may be compared with the *Ædiles*. As a judicial board, they investigated all capital crimes; and as a supreme court of cassation, they could abrogate or supersede the decrees of the senate and the people. The cases of Socrates and St. Paul, who were tried by the Areopagus, shew that its superintendence extended to the introduction of new deities and new doctrines. Eloquence found no place here; the votes were given in silence, and with little stones; and so long as the Areopagus maintained its character (for it was called upon to act in cases of public emergency), the popular assembly could not undermine the state.² The authority of the Areopagus was based upon the dignity of moral excellence, and was supreme in its sphere; no law defined where it became incumbent upon them to intervene, or how far that right extended; the strength of virtue ensured the ever-ready will, and wisdom determined the degree.³

Besides this, Solon established a more specific court, *Heliaea*, which appears to have been, as it were, a committee of the larger assembly of the people. Though the citizen who had attained his eighteenth year might speak

¹ Ἡ ἐξ ἀρείου πάγου βουλή or ἡ ἀνω βουλή. They held their meetings on the Hill of Mars.

² Ἐπίσκοπος πάντων καὶ νόμων φύλαξ. *Plut.* Plutarch calls it ἡ ἀνω βουλή, in reference to the senate of 500, and compares them to two anchors which might keep the people steady in the storm. *Solon. c. xix.*

³ See *Wachsmuth*, vol. i. p. 390.

in the public assembly, yet he could not exercise the privileges of a judge in this court until he had attained his thirtieth year. The judges of the courts of the *Diētētæ* (arbitrators) and *Ephētæ* (or appeal), were required to be still older men than the *Heliasts*, viz. fifty or sixty years of age. The *Heliæa* was a superior court, and its members exempt from responsibility; for what higher tribunal could be appealed to, than that of the citizens themselves, in their judicial capacity? This rendered the popular tribunals of such importance to the constitution in general, and on this account the *Heliasts* were so frequently addressed as the popular assembly itself.¹

Solon also compiled a code of laws for the determination of individual cases. Those which related to private actions were preserved on parallelograms of wood, with cases which reached from the ground, and turned upon a pin like a wheel, whence the appellation of *axones*. Such as concerned public institutions and sacrifices, were inscribed on triangular tablets of stone, called *cyrbes*. In order to ensure the stability of the laws,² Solon gave every citizen a right to bring actions in cases affecting the interest of the state, and particularly to accuse the author of illegal measures.³ In civil feuds no citizen was allowed to remain neuter. Solon enjoined an annual revision of the laws.

Solon did not aim at abstract perfection, but laboured to adapt his legislation to the character of the Athenians, and

¹ *Wachsmuth*, vol. i. p. 384.

² The following changes are ascribed to Clisthenes. The people were divided into ten instead of four phylæ, and the cause of democracy was promoted by abolishing the institutions connected with the ancient phylæ. The tribes, or phylæ, were divided into demi or boroughs, with a phylarch and demarch at the head of each. He admitted many of the *μέτροικοι*, or resident foreigners to the rank of citizens. The number of the senate was augmented to 500, i.e. 50 from each tribe. The introduction of Ostracism is also ascribed to Clisthenes. The archons were henceforth appointed by lot. The number ten, owing to the phylæ, prevailed in every department—ten *Strategi*, *Taxiarchs*, and *Phylarchs*; ten *Tamias*, *Logistæ*, &c.

³ By a *γραφὴ παρανόμων*.

the wants of the times. His is no imaginary republic, like that of Plato, nor, like Lycurgus, did he make political liberty his exclusive object; but he endeavoured to unite a tempered form of aristocracy and democracy with the general progress of civilization and happiness. The legislation of Solon is distinguished by its philanthropy. He defines the duties of parents, and children, and families; and he enforces the practice of gratitude and other virtues, by positive enactments. He pays a due regard to the infirmities of human nature; and, like a father, adopts means for the prevention of crime, rather than its punishment. Indolence is the fruitful source of crime, and Solon represses it by compelling every citizen to declare his means of subsistence. As much depends upon the example of superiors, drunkenness in an archon was considered a capital offence.

CHAPTER VI.

HISTORY OF GREECE TILL THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE PERSIAN WARS.

Pisistratus—Harmodius and Aristogiton—Expulsion of Hippias—The Persian Empire—Darius Hystaspes—Revolt of Miletus.

AFTER the promulgation of his code, Solon found himself obliged to leave Athens; and, during his absence, the people were again split into factions. The great defect of the Athenian constitution consisted in expecting too much from the reason and judgment of men, and dreading too little from their passions.¹ Solon, upon his return,

¹ Heyne, *Opusc.* 4 396.

exhorted them to obedience towards the laws, and laboured in particular to check the ambitious views of Pisistratus, a man of distinguished eloquence and address, descended from the line of the ancient kings, who appeared as the champion of the poorer classes. Pisistratus having inflicted upon himself a wound, exhibited his bleeding body to the public, alleging that he had thus suffered because he was their declared friend. On this it was decreed in a general assembly, that Pisistratus should be protected by a guard of four hundred men. With this inconsiderable body he managed, partly by force, and partly by stratagem, to seize upon the supreme power, B.C. 561.¹ Solon left Athens in despair, and his fate afterwards is uncertain. The Athenians erected a statue to him in the forum, and another at Salamis.

Pisistratus began to use his newly acquired power with moderation; but a coalition of two other leaders, Megacles and Lycurgus, obliged him to withdraw from Athens. He was recalled, and again went into exile; but, after an exile of eleven years, he was finally re-established in power by the assistance of the Thebans and other Greeks, to whom he had applied for assistance. During his reign, all the laws continued in force; the general assembly, the courts of justice, and the council of state, retained their constitutional powers.² He promoted agriculture, by making

¹ The establishment of a tyranny is generally described as having been attended by stratagem or force, the appointment of body guards, the maintenance of mercenaries, the capture of the citadel; the *demos* in republican states lending their power to their leader for the sake of avenging themselves upon the richer classes. There existed also, in many instances, a natural preference for the unity of the sovereign power; and the ancient hereditary sovereignty lived in the remembrance of the people as a mild and paternal administration, dispensing benefits, and not suffering injustice in the land.—*Arist. Pol.* 3. 9. 4; 5. 8. 5. See *Wachsmuth*, vol. i. p. 412.

² Hence the praise so unanimously expressed of Pisistratus. See *Thucyd.* 6. 54. This, among other instances, serves to explain how the word *tyrannus* was only used originally to designate a ruler, without any invidious secondary meaning; while *tyrannus* as applied

the inhabitants retire from the town into the country; he fostered the arts and sciences; he beautified the city, particularly the temple of Pythian Apollo, and that of Olympic Jupiter; and he brought the poems of Homer into something like the shape in which we at present possess them.¹

After the death of Pisistratus (528), Hippias, probably in conjunction with his brother Hipparchus, commenced his reign with great lenity and moderation. After a lapse, however, of about fourteen years, a conspiracy was formed by which Hipparchus was slain, and Hippias narrowly escaped death. Two young men, Harmodius and Aristogiton, being actuated by a spirit of revenge on account of some personal insult, killed Hipparchus during the festival of the Panathenæa (514). Harmodius was killed upon the spot by the guards of Hipparchus; and Aristogiton afterwards shared the same fate. The people, however, paid them the most extravagant honours, celebrating them, not as the avengers of a private quarrel, but as the restorers of public freedom.² They had struck down the tyrants and restored to Athens "equal laws."

The expulsion of Hippias took place about four years after the death of his brother, notwithstanding he had endeavoured to strengthen himself by courting the Lacedæmonians, and marrying his daughter to the tyrant of Lampsacus. He appears to have retired to Sigæum. Cleisthenes now placed himself at the head of the administration, and in order to secure the popular favour, and thereby defeat his antagonist Isagoras, he effected those changes in the

to the kings of the early age, and *basileus* for a tyrant, were still employed promiscuously, after the full development of democracy.—*Wachsmuth*, vol. i. p. 414.

¹ Yet we must recollect that the government of Pisistratus was not the constitution of Solon. "The Athenians were, indeed, happy, not under the protection of the law, but through the graciousness of their master."—*Rotteck*.

² A slave was forbidden by law to bear the name of Harmodius or Aristogiton.—*Gell. Noct. Att.* 9. 2.

constitution of Solon which have been already mentioned (p. 142).¹ Hippias went to Persia 510 B. C. and became in some measure the cause of the Persian war. As this is the most eventful period in the history of Greece, a few preliminary remarks may be introduced about the state of Persia, for the better understanding of the subject. We may just remark, on the testimony of Herodotus, that the overthrow of the tyranny at Athens, and the subsequent infusion of republican energy, at once placed her at the head of the Grecian states.²

The countries of Asia, lying between the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulf, and watered by the two great rivers, the Euphrates and the Tigris, have been from the earliest periods the seat of powerful monarchies. The Assyrian and the Babylonian empires had passed away; and the Persian empire was consolidated by Cyrus in a great measure out of the ruins of the latter. The first kingdom that submitted to him was that of the Lydians,³ which flourished betwixt the Ægean Sea and the river Halys. In the reign of Cræsus, nearly the whole peninsula of Lesser Asia, extending eastward as far as the river Halys, and inhabited by three nations of Grecian, and eleven of barbarian extraction, finally acknowledged his power, and tamely received

¹ About this time the election by lot to public offices was substituted for the election by vote. "Certè vel ætate Aristidis, vel antequam Pericles auctoritate valeret, hæc obtinuit mutatio."—*Luzac, de Soc. Cive.* p. 62. This rendered the democracy more absolute, as it diffused more equally the chance of office.

² *Herod.* v. 78. Compare the reflection of the Lacedæmonians (*ibid.* v. 91.)—"that the Athenians being free, would now be a match for themselves."

³ The eastern colonies of Greece flourished in the vicinity of Phrygia and Lydia, the best cultivated and most wealthy provinces of Lower Asia. History and poetry alike extol the golden treasures of the Phrygian and Lydian kings. Their subjects wrought mines of gold, melted the ore, moulded figures in bronze, dyed wool, cultivated music, and indulged the demands of luxury; while the Medes and Persians lived in scattered villages, subsisted by hunting, pasturage, or robbery, and were clothed with the skins of wild beasts.—(*Herod.* i. 71. 94. *Plin.* vi. 56.) *Gillies*, c. vii.

his commands. Cyrus added to his other conquests that of the Greek colonies on the Ionian coast, which induced the Phocæans to emigrate to Marseilles (Massilia). He then became master of the great city Babylon, on the Euphrates, so that all Asia, from the Caucasus and the Caspian Sea to the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean, became subject to the Persian dominion. In an annual progress through the central parts of their empire, the Persian kings spent the winter in the warm plains of Babylon, enjoyed the happy temperature of spring in the city of Susa, and avoided the summer heats in the spacious palace at Ecbatana, fanned by the refreshing breezes of the Median mountains.¹

Amongst the successors of Cyrus we may notice Darius Hystaspes, who divided the empire into satrapies, or provinces, amounting to twenty. At the head of each he placed a satrap or governor, who originally was entrusted with no military power. Royal officers travelled through the various satrapies, in order to obtain accurate information, while posts were established along the various roads for the sake of transmitting it as rapidly as possible. Under the successors of Darius, these institutions fell rapidly into decay. The satraps appropriated all the power to themselves, and braved the royal dignity with impunity; so that the whole, in course of time, became an easy prey to the enterprising Alexander.²

Darius Hystaspes undertook an expedition against the Scythians in Europe who roamed without fixed habitations³ to

¹ *Gillies*, c. vii.

² "The inhabitants of the colder regions," observes Aristotle, "are indeed full of energy, but deficient in intellect and science; they are really free, but, having no ideas of state polity (*ἀπολίτευρα*), they are incapable of ruling over their neighbours. The Asiatics possess an intellect rich in genius and science, yet without energy. Hence they are generally in a state of servitude. But the Hellenic race are at the same time intellectual and energetic; hence they are free, enjoy the best forms of government, and, were they united into one state, they would be able to rule over all."—*Pol.* vii. 7.

³ Ἀνδρας οὐδαμόθι γῆς ἄστυ νέμοντας.—*Herod.* 7.

the north of the Danube and the Black Sea. A bridge was thrown across the Danube; and, as this was the only possible point of return, the care of it was committed to trusty persons. Amongst this number was Miltiades,¹ who, with the praiseworthy desire of liberating the Asiatic Greeks from the dominion of Persia, strongly advised that the bridge should be broken down. This advice, however, was not acted upon, for the other little tyrants of Asiatic Greece, having become obnoxious in their several cities, shrewdly suspected that their own interests were more intimately connected with the cause of Persia than the cause of freedom. Darius was compelled to retreat into Asia, without effecting the object of his expedition; and Miltiades, dreading his resentment, had previously retired to Athens. His personal and political opponents instituted public proceedings against him for having been tyrant in the Chersonese.²

About this period, Aristagoras the Milesian, having failed in an attempt to reduce the island of Naxos, stirred up a revolt in Ionia, in order to shield himself from the probable resentment of the Persian monarch. Accordingly he made application to Sparta for assistance. He described to king Cleomenes the enthusiastic love of liberty which animated the Ionians; the wealth of the Persians, and pointed out the extent of the Persian empire on a brazen tablet, on which were engraved all the countries, seas, and rivers of the ancient world. Cleomenes, having demanded three days for consideration, asked Aristagoras on the third day, "In how many days they might march to Susa?" Aristagoras replied, "that, travelling at the rate of eighteen

¹ It was the elder Miltiades who colonized the Thracian Chersonese, being invited thither by the Dolonci against the neighbouring Apsinthians. The younger Miltiades effected the conquest of Lemnos, and peopled the island with Athenians. Such colonists were termed *Cleruchi*, the land being divided among them in portions (*κληροῖ*). The immediate objects of such settlements were either to provide an outlet for poor citizens, or to garrison foreign conquests. Hence *γεωργεῖν* (*arare*, *Cic. in Verr.* 3. 5. 11) = *κληρουχεῖν*, *Cleruchus*, *Agripeta*.—*Cic. de Nat. Deor.* i. 26. ² *Herod.* 6. 104.

miles a day, they might reach Susa in three months." "Milesian stranger," exclaimed Cleomenes, "you must leave Sparta before the setting of the sun; for you have made a very inauspicious and dangerous proposal in advising the Spartans to undertake a journey of three months from the Grecian Sea."

Though disappointed in Sparta, Aristagoras was completely successful in his application to the Athenians. Twenty ships¹ were accordingly sent from Athens and Eretria, under the command of Melanthus; Sardis was taken without opposition and burnt. No sooner did the king of Persia hear of this assistance and the burning of Sardis, than he declared himself the sworn enemy of Athens. Shooting an arrow into the air, he prayed that heaven might assist him in punishing the insolence of that republic; and whenever he sat down to table, an attendant reminded him about executing his purpose of revenge. Again, Hippias, the ex-tyrant, had applied to Artaphernes, a Persian satrap, and promised that, in case of restoration, he would do homage to the Persian monarch.

Mardonius was, in consequence, empowered to carry on the war; but this commander having met with a storm at sea, in doubling the promontory of Athos, and being attacked by the Thracian Bryges, returned to Asia² (492 B. C.). Datis and Artaphernes, son of the Artaphernes above mentioned, were now commissioned to chastise the Greeks. Darius gave the most positive commands that the territories of the Athenians and Eretrians should be laid waste, their houses and temples burnt or demolished, and their persons carried in captivity to the eastern extremity of the empire. Secure of effecting their purpose, his generals were fur-

¹ "These ships," says Herodotus, "were the beginning of evils to the Greeks and barbarians."—v. 97.

² On his return he described and exaggerated to his countrymen the excessive cold, the violent tempests, the monstrous marine animals which distinguish and render formidable those distant seas.—*Herod.* vi. 43.

nished with a great number of chains for confining the Grecian prisoners; a haughty presumption, to use the language of antiquity, in the superiority of man over the power of fortune. The third period of Grecian history extends from the commencement of the Persian wars till the establishment of the Macedonian supremacy in Greece, 492—338 B. C., a period of 154 years.

CHAPTER VII.

THE PERSIAN WARS TILL THE DEATH OF MILTIADES.

Miltiades—The battle of Marathon—Expedition to Paros—Condemnation of Miltiades—Themistocles—Athenian Enterprise.

WAR being thus declared, the Persian commanders drew their forces into the plains of Cilicia, and passed thence¹ through the Cyclades into the island of Eubœa. Eretria, the principal town, was pillaged, burnt, and its inhabitants taken prisoners. Most of the islands that stud this quarter of the Ægean, either spontaneously offered the usual acknowledgment of "earth and water"² as a token of submission, or submitted after a feeble resistance. The Athenians, hearing of the near approach of the enemy, supplicated assistance from Sparta. This was immediately granted, but the troops did not arrive in time, for, it was only the ninth day of the month, and according to a superstitious notion, they could not march before the period of the full moon.

¹ The disaster of Mardonius had deterred them from pursuing the direct course along the shores of Thrace and Macedonia.

² Ægina was probably infatuated by its jealousy of Athens.—*Herod.* 6. 49. The Persian ambassadors were murdered by Athens and Sparta.—*Herod.* 7. 138.

The Athenians did every thing that lay in their power ; each of the ten tribes gave up its militia, and furnished a *strategus* (general); and even many thousand slaves were armed in this critical emergency. They abandoned the idea of standing a siege, when they reflected that the immense hosts of Persia would easily surround the city, intercept the supplies, and, instead of conquering by assault, reduce them by famine. They therefore marched to Marathon to meet the enemy, who had chosen that district under the advice of Hippias, as suitable for the operation of their cavalry.¹ The Plataeans, from Bœotia, whose love of independence rendered them desirous of cultivating the friendship of Athens, were the only Greeks who arrived upon the spot with prompt assistance.

Amongst the ten generals of Athens, five were still undetermined, whether it would be advisable to attack so superior a force, especially as the Spartan auxiliaries had not yet arrived. Miltiades, however, one of the generals, maintained, against all opposition, that a battle at Marathon was absolutely necessary to keep up the enthusiasm of the Athenians ; and at last he won over Callimachus, the Polemarch, who had the casting vote,² as the opinions of the generals were equally divided. The ten generals succeeded to the command of the whole army in rotation, for the Athenians were ever jealous of military power ; but the five, who had voted for the attack, being convinced how important it was that all should be actuated by one spirit, and that unity of design should pervade the successive operations of an army, unanimously gave up to Miltiades the days of command³ that would fall to their share.

Miltiades, however, did not take advantage of this ; but when his own day of command actually arrived, he deter-

¹ Επιτηδεύατον χωρίον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐνιππεύσαι.—Herod. 6.

² Τὸ παλαιὸν γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι ὁμόψηφον τὸν πολέμαρχον ἐποιεῦντο τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι.—Herod. 6. The Polemarch commanded the right wing by virtue of his office.

³ Πρωτανηγία τῆς ἡμέρης, "the command of the day."—Herod. 6.

mined upon giving battle to the enemy. For this purpose he made the following dispositions. He chose for his camp the declivity of a hill, lest he should be surrounded by a superior force; and he strewed the intermediate space with the trunks and branches of trees, in order to interrupt the motions of the Persian cavalry. The Athenians were stationed on the right, the Platæans on the left, and the slaves formed the centre.¹ To strengthen the wings, and render the extent of his front equal to that of the enemy, Miltiades diminished the number of ranks in the centre.² His rear and his right were protected by the hill, which swept round to the sea; and his left was flanked by a lake or marsh. With respect to the physical and military advantages of the Athenians, we may observe, that they surpassed the Persians in agility and personal prowess—that their defensive armour was more complete—that the close phalanx, with the long Grecian spear, was admirably adapted for acting against the Persian cavalry; whilst in discipline, a knowledge of evolutions, and impetuous courage, animated by a love of liberty, and a hatred of the barbarians—the two armies present points of contrast, rather than comparison. The Persian army, according to the most reasonable computation, amounted to about 100,000 foot, and 10,000 horse. The Greek army mustered about 9000 Athenians, and 1000 Platæans.

The Athenians advanced upon the enemy at an accelerated pace, in order to shorten the time of exposure to the missiles of the barbarians, and to give an increased momentum to the charge directed against the Persian masses. The Persians, who supposed them to be mad, as they had neither cavalry nor archers, prepared to receive the charge. The

¹ There is not any historian, indeed, who makes mention of this arrangement, although, by comparing the accounts of the havoc made in the centre, with the small number of Athenian citizens who were slain, it is evident that the slaves must have been the greatest sufferers in the action, and therefore posted as is said in the text.—*Gillies*, c. ix.

² Τὸ—μίσσον ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τάξιας ὀλίγας.—*Herod.* vi.

contest soon became sharp—the “Persian sword, and Scythian hatchet,” penetrated or cut down the Greek centre; but, on the other hand, the Greeks put to flight both the wings of the Persians. The victorious Greeks then closed their extremities, and turned upon the Persians, who had broken their centre. They defeated them, pursued them to the sea-shore, for the lightness of their armour favoured their escape; took seven of their ships, and pillaged their camp of all its treasures. On the side of the Persians 6,400 men fell, among whom was the tyrant Hippias. The Athenians are said to have lost only 192; the Polemarch, Callimachus, was among the number. This was the commencement of that series of victories, which shewed to the astonished Persians what the moral courage of a people can effect against mere inanimate masses. The Athenians reflected, that “to die was the lot of all, but of the select few to perform great achievements.” (490 B. C.)

The Persians now doubled Cape Sunium (Colonna), in order to surprise Athens before the army could return. But in this they were anticipated by the expedition and activity of Miltiades. Thus baffled, the Persians returned to Asia, carrying along with them the Eretrian prisoners, who, in obedience to the orders of Darius, were safely conducted to Susa. The prisoners were treated by that monarch with unexpected kindness. The fertile district of Ardericca, in Cissia, was assigned to them, and there the colony remained in the time of Herodotus; and, after a revolution of six centuries, when visited by the celebrated Apollonius Tyaneus, they still exhibited indubitable marks of European extraction.²

Nothing could exceed the joy of the Athenians on the occasion of this victory. They celebrated a general festival

¹ *Lysias, Epitaph.*—*Herod.* vi. 103. We are told that a soldier, who had been despatched to Athens with news of the victory, was so overpowered with excitement and excess of fatigue, that he expired, after having exclaimed, in two words, Rejoice with the victors; χαίρετε, χαίρομεν.

² *Philostrat.*

—they held processions upon the sacred plain—they erected pillars upon the spot,¹ with inscriptions, in honour of the fallen—and they immortalized the generals, by a large picture, in a portico, called the *Pœcile*.² The Spartans, who arrived too late for the battle, though they had marched 900 stadia in three days, went to Marathon, in order to see the bodies of the Medes and Persians. “The Athenians,” says Herodotus, “were the first among the Greeks that used running for the purpose of coming at once to close fight; and they were the first who withstood, in the field, even the sight of the Median dress, and the men who wear it; for hitherto the very name of Medes and Persians had been a terror to the Greeks.”

It is impossible to overrate the importance of the defeat of the Persians, in reference to the liberty of Greece, and the cause of general civilization. Had Persia succeeded, Greece would have been converted into a barbarian satrapy, and the most splendid examples of free institutions would have prematurely perished. The Romans might have conquered the world, but would never have civilized it; and even modern civilization, which is connected with that of the ancient world by innumerable ties, would never have existed. Of so much importance was it, that freedom should triumph at Marathon, and Salamis, and Platææ.³

After this battle, Miltiades, at his own request, was entrusted with seventy ships, for the purpose of expelling the Persian garrisons from the *Ægean*, and reducing, among others, the island of Paros. Success at first crowned the

¹ Those who fell at Marathon were buried on the spot, on account of their surpassing valour.—(*Thuc.* ii. 34.) The Ceramicus, without the walls of Athens, was the place of public burial.

² Ποικίλη, sc. στοά, *varia porticus*, from the various engravings and pictures on it, particularly of the Medes and Persians, whence it is called *Bræccatis illita Medis Porticus*.—*Pers.* iii. 53. Hence the followers of Zeno, who taught in this portico, were termed Stoics. See *Rom. Ant.* p. 11.

³ See *Rotteck*, ii. 53, 54. Herodotus might well observe, that the exploits of the Greeks merited not only praise, but wonder.

efforts of the Athenians; but the walls of Paros¹ were very strong, and the Athenians were as yet unacquainted with the art of besieging. Miltiades, after having spent twenty-six days before it, drew off his troops—an extensive grove, which happened to be set on fire in a neighbouring island, being believed by the besiegers to indicate the approach of a Persian fleet.

Xanthippus, the father of Pericles and connected with the house of the Alcæonidæ, took occasion, from this unfortunate expedition, to impeach Miltiades before the people, as one who had defrauded the Athenians, by holding out expectations² which he had not realized. His precipitate retreat from the island, and the continual terror which the Athenians ever entertained of arbitrary power—for Miltiades had been a “tyrant” in the Chersonese,—easily induced them to listen to the charge of his being corrupted by a Persian bribe to raise the siege of Paros. The defence of Miltiades, by reason of his sickness—for he had broken his thigh in the siege,—was left to his friends. In vain did they refer to the glorious day of Marathon; they could effect nothing more than the conversion of capital punishment into a pecuniary mulct of fifty talents, as an indemnification for the expenses of the unsuccessful expedition. Being unable to pay this sum, he was thrown into prison, where he died.³ It cannot be denied, that Miltiades, whilst engaged in his public duties, consulted his own advantage; but we have no authority for stating that he pursued it at the expense of the public interest. At the same time, there is no evidence that the prosecution of Xanthippus was dictated by party feeling; his imprisonment was perfectly legal.

¹ Miltiades having received a personal injury from Tisagoras, a man of great importance in the island, had demanded the exorbitant sum of 100 talents from the inhabitants, which will account for their obstinacy.

² According to Herodotus (vi. 132) Miltiades solicited the command of the fleet, without specifying the destination of his expedition, but promising that he would enrich the Athenians.

³ *Herod.* vi. 131, 136. *Plato, Gorg.* 153. *Nep. Plutarch, Val. Max.*

Themistocles, a bold and enterprising spirit, stepped forward, as it were, to supply the loss of Miltiades.' He saw clearly that the dominion of Athens, as well as a vigorous opposition against the barbarians, could only be established by sea. A war with Ægina (484), which had entered into alliance with the Persians, afforded him an opportunity of submitting and carrying a motion, to appropriate the produce of the silver mines of Laurium—which had hitherto been distributed among the people—to the building of a hundred new triremes. Thus was the groundwork laid for the great naval victory over Xerxes; for the Athenians could then oppose the Persians, with 200 ships of a superior size and construction to any hitherto known in Greece.¹ To this war Herodotus justly ascribes the salvation of Greece.²

The influence of Themistocles, after he had completed the design of Miltiades in effecting the conquest of the small islands in the Ægean,³ was so great, that he was able to procure the banishment of his rival Aristides⁴ (486), whose unsullied integrity was felt by him as a severe check in the execution of his plans. Aristides, it has been justly observed, was more ambitious to deserve, than to acquire the admiration of his fellow-citizens. Themistocles, on the other hand, more attached to glory than virtue, was solicitous to acquire for himself a superiority in Athens, while he enabled Athens to maintain a superiority in Greece.

¹ *Plato de Legg.* iii.

² *Herod.* vii. 144.

³ This preceded the reduction of Ægina and Corcyra.

⁴ By ostracism. In this species of ballot, the name of the accused was written upon a shell, by every one who desired his exile. If the number of shells exceeded six thousand, the sentence was inflicted. "Many republics had a similar institution, as, for instance, Syracuse, where it was termed *Petalism*, the citizens voting with olive leaves; and though such an institution might be abused, we must observe that it was perfectly compatible with the spirit of a free state. The very virtues of a man, if they elevate him above the level of republican equality, may become dangerous to freedom; and Rome might probably have remained without a civil war and perpetual dictators, had it enjoyed the ostracism."—*Rotteck*, i. 399, 400.

The war with Ægina, as we have just observed, first directed the attention of the Athenians to maritime affairs. No sooner had they launched their fleet, than they appear perfectly skilled in naval tactics. Hence the beautiful observation of Pericles, that Athenian courage had proceeded from the intellect and will, and not from habit;¹ and even their enemies were compelled to acknowledge, that the fecundity of the Athenian mind had developed new excellence in new channels of enterprise.² "In my opinion," says Isocrates, in reference to the influence of the Persian war, "a god who respected the virtues of the Athenians brought about that war, in order that they who possessed such distinguished qualities, might not pass their lives unhonoured and unknown."³

CHAPTER VIII.

THE PERSIAN WARS, TILL THE DEATH OF LEONIDAS.

*Invasion of Xerxes—His Army and March—The State of Greece—
Leonidas at Thermopylæ.*

THE defeat of the Persian army at Marathon served merely to rouse the indignation of Darius. During the space of three years, he ordered levies to be made through the whole extent of the Persian empire, fleets to be built, and provisions of all kinds to be collected. The revolt of Egypt, however, and a domestic controversy about the right of succession, diverted his attention from the prosecution of the undertaking, until death surprised him, in the thirty-seventh year of his age (485 B. C.).

¹ *Thuc.* ii. 39.

² The Corinthians in *Thuc.* i. 71.

³ *Panegy.*, 23.

As soon as the reduction of Egypt was completed by his successor, Xerxes, fresh preparations were commenced for the expedition against Greece.¹ More than fifty different nations, all varying from each other in their language, manners, armour, and costume, contributed their contingents. This army, amounting to two millions and a half, according to Herodotus, who repeatedly expresses his astonishment at the immensity of the barbarian hosts, was led by the king in person.² All the people along the coast, from Egypt to the Hellespont, were obliged to furnish ships, and convey provisions to the coast of Thrace. In order that no danger might be experienced in doubling the promontory of Athos, Xerxes ordered a canal to be cut across the isthmus, which connects the mountain³ with the main-land—a labour of three years.⁴ The Persians were entirely ignorant of operations of this kind, as is evident, from the fact of their making the opening at the surface of the same breadth with that necessary at the bottom of the channel.

Xerxes set forth from Susa, and passed the winter at Sardis. Whilst here, he sent heralds to all the Greek states,—except Sparta and Athens, who had inhumanly treated the ambassadors of Darius—demanding “earth and water” as a token of submission. As he had determined to pass over from Asia to Europe on foot, the whole fleet

¹ Mardonius was the principal instigator of this expedition, being desirous to become himself the satrap of Greece, τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑπαρχος.—*Herod.* 7.

² On comparing the various numbers engaged at Mycale and Platæa, it would appear that the Persian monarch must have entered Greece with 600,000 fighting men; but we must recollect, that nearly the whole of one reign, and part of another, were consumed in making preparations for this ill-fated expedition. The census of the army was taken in the following simple manner. Ten thousand men, formed into a compact body, were enclosed by a palisade; and the enclosure was successively filled, till the whole number was told off.

³ Χερσονησοειδὲς τὴ ἐστὶ καὶ ἰσθμὸς ὡς δώδεκα σταδίων.—*Herod.* 7.

⁴ The vessels, according to Herodotus, might, according to the custom of the age, have been conveyed with greater rapidity over-land. The canal, though laughed at by Juvenal, is supported by Thucydides (iv. 109).

was obliged to sail to the Hellespont, and erect a bridge of boats over the straits. The bridge was no sooner constructed than destroyed, whereupon Xerxes, as the Greeks tell us, ordered the workmen to be beheaded, and three hundred stripes to be inflicted upon the Hellespont. A second bridge was formed of a double range of boats, fastened together by cables, and moored on each side with anchors. The surface was covered with planks, and the sides were railed with wicker work, to prevent the horses taking fright. Xerxes now set out from Sardis, and moved in a north-western direction to the Hellespont. The order of march was as follows :—The baggage-drivers, and beasts of burden, went first ; then a mixed mass of all nations ; then a thousand horsemen, and a thousand spearsmen, all chosen Persians. These were followed by ten Nisæan horses,¹ richly caparisoned ; the sacred chariot drawn by eight white horses, and the monarch himself drawn in a car by Nisæan horses. After him came ten thousand chosen Persians on foot called the ‘ Immortals,’ because their number was constantly maintained from the flower of the whole army ; these were followed by the rest of the troops. Yet amidst so many thousands, no one surpassed Xerxes himself in strength, in beauty, or in stature.² (480 B. C.)

When Xerxes came to the Scamander, this river, so celebrated in Homer, failed his mighty army as they drank. At Troas, where Asia and Europe first contended with each other, Xerxes sacrificed a thousand oxen to the Trojan Minerva, and the Magians poured out libations to the manes of the departed heroes. In a few days he reached the last Asiatic city Abydos, where he was desirous of reviewing his whole army. Here, seated on a marble throne, he beheld the Hellespont covered with his ships, the shores and plains of Abydos overspread with troops ; and his navy, engaged

¹ Reared in the sacred plain of Nisa, in Media, and consecrated to the sun.

² *Herod.* vii. 184.

in a sham battle, gratified him with their skilful evolutions. At first he contemplated this vast assemblage of human beings with feelings of pride and astonishment, but afterwards with melancholy sadness and tears. "The mournful reflection occurred to him," says Herodotus, "that, after the lapse of a hundred years, not one of these would perhaps be alive."¹

After the passage of the Hellespont,² which continued, according to Herodotus, seven days and nights without interruption, the march was resumed, and the waters of the Melas failed, like those of the Scamander. Having arrived at a large plain near the mouth of the Hebrus, Xerxes held another review of his mighty armament. Wonderful was the variety in the armour and costume of the different nations that composed his army. There might be seen Persians with tiaras on their heads, sleeved tunics covered with iron scales, trowsers, spears, bows, and daggers; Assyrians with helmets and iron-headed clubs; Sacians and Scythians with battle-axes; Indians clad in cotton, with bows and arrows of cane; the Æthiopians with skins of lions and leopards, &c.³ In this manner Herodotus describes to us no less than fifty-six different nations who took part in the

¹ Herodotus records an interview between Xerxes and Demaratus the exiled king of Sparta. Xerxes, having expatiated on the magnitude of his armament, asked the Spartan if he still thought that the Greeks would take the field. Demaratus replied that, "it was unnecessary to ask the number of the Spartans, for, if they exceeded not a thousand men, they would defend their country and their freedom against the myriads of Asia."—*Herod.* vii. 102 seqq.

² *Herod.* vii. 33 seqq. 60 seqq.

³ The Persian infantry appears to have been little better than a military mob; whilst the vast numbers of this arm, which were commonly brought into the field, impeded the action of the cavalry, which they were incapable of supporting, and served only to supply food for the slaughter. Marathon, Platææ, and Mycale, all bear witness to the truth of this observation. The war-chariots were another source of disorder and weakness; and, as these vehicles could only act upon level ground, they were altogether useless and unavailing in a broken country, and against a skilful commander.—See *Encyc. Brit. Art. ARMY.*

expedition. The infantry amounted to 170 myriads, and the cavalry to 8 myriads, exclusive of chariots and camels. The ships amounted to 1200, exclusive of transports.

Few, at that time, shared with Themistocles the bold expectation of being able to deliver Greece and her liberties from the overwhelming power of Persia.¹ Even the oracle at Delphi declared resistance to be madness; but afterwards promised safety to the Greeks in *walls of wood*. This being interpreted as a command to place all their hopes of safety in the fleet, the city was abandoned accordingly. About this period Aristides was recalled from exile.

The Thebans, whose patriotism was at that time extinguished by the leaders of the oligarchy²—the smaller states, as well as those where “tyrannies” had been established, sided with the barbarians. On the other hand, the representatives³ of the Greek states in and out of the Peloponnesus assembled at the Isthmus—the exiles were recalled, and domestic animosities were suspended. Themistocles did all in his power to quell internal dissensions. The danger which threatened their common country induced the Greeks to lay aside their differences; the *Atimoi* were restored to the rights of citizenship, which they had forfeited. Thirty-one towns in all joined the confederacy against the Persians; some, like Athens and Ægina, burying their ancient animosities; and others, like Athens and Sparta, forgetting, in their countries’ peril, the opposite character of their constitutions. Platææ, Thespiæ, and Haliartus in Bœotia, espoused the cause of freedom with a zeal in proportion to their hostility against Thebes; and the Phocians

¹ The women of Corinth prayed to Venus to inspire their husbands with strength and courage.—*Schol. Pind. Olymp. xiii. 32.*

² See Böckh, *Explic. Pind.* The Thebans, in speaking of the condition of Thebes during the Persian war, tell us (*Thuc. iii. 62*) that their government was neither a democracy nor an oligarchy in the proper sense (*ὀλιγαρχία ἰσόνομος*), but a dynasty (*δυναστεία*), by which we understand the usurpation of a few leading families of the aristocracy.

³ *Πρόβουλοι*.—*Herod. vii. 172.*

because their hereditary enemies, the Thessalians, had joined the Medes.

The Argives, however, refused to join the confederacy on account of their enmity to Sparta,¹ and gave a promise to Mardonius that they would intercept the Peloponnesians in their passage across the Isthmus.² Gelon, the powerful tyrant of Syracuse, promised the Greeks assistance if they would invest him with the supreme command. "What would Agamemnon, the Pelopide, say," replied the Spartan envoy, "if he heard that Gelon and the Syracusans had snatched away the supremacy³ from Sparta!" When he demanded at least the command of the fleet, the Athenian ambassadors replied, that they were come, in fact, not to seek generals, but an army. Sicily was also threatened at this time with a formidable invasion from the Carthaginians. The inhabitants of Corcyra waited to see the issue of the battle; and Crete, long estranged from Greece, and secure from danger, remained inactive, under pretence of an oracle. It may be stated generally, that one half of Greece remained neutral or sided with the enemy.⁴

Not only the Thracians and Macedonians attached themselves to Xerxes, but Thessaly also opened to receive him: a country which, from its inaccessible mountains and its bold cavalry, might have formed a powerful bulwark of Greece in this emergency. The Thessalians had at first applied to the allies for a body of men to defend the valley of Ossa and Olympus; but the troops appear to have been withdrawn, when it was discovered that its defence would be useless, as there was another passage into Thessaly through the territory of the Perrhæbians.⁵ Xerxes now pressed forwards, through Thessaly, towards the boundaries of Hellas Proper. The two countries are connected by the

¹ See p. 131.

² They, however, contented themselves with sending intelligence to Mardonius that the Peloponnesians were on their march.—*Herod.*

³ *ἡγεμονία, principatus.* ⁴ *Herod. Diodor.* ⁵ See Geog. ch. i.

straits of Thermopylæ,¹ a long narrow defile, on the western side of which an immense wall of rocks towers into the clouds, whilst the pass, to the east, is bounded by a deep marsh stretching as far as the sea. Leonidas, king of Sparta, was sent with a body of 8000 men to occupy this pass; and he was prepared, in obedience to the oracle,² to sacrifice his life for the welfare of his country.

The place of battle was extremely favourable to the Greeks, for the Persians could avail themselves but little of their superior numbers. Xerxes sent messengers to the Greeks, desiring them to lay down their arms, to which they replied, "Let him come and take them." The messengers then offered them lands, on condition of their becoming allies of the great king; but they replied that, "it was their custom to acquire lands by valour, and not by treachery." The Lacedæmonians, indeed, treated the matter with perfect coolness—amusing themselves with gymnastic exercises, and adjusting their long hair,³ to inspire greater terror into the enemy. Xerxes had no idea of such imperturbable courage, and he could not conceive, as Herodotus expresses it with striking simplicity, "that the Greeks were come to Thermopylæ only as men desirous to die, and to destroy as many of their enemies as they could, though nothing was more true."

After having waited a few days in expectation that the Greeks would run away, Xerxes gave orders for an attack. The Persian masses could make no impression upon the Greeks; the Medes, the Cissians, and the Immortals, were successively repulsed. Their short-pointed weapons were ill adapted to contend with the length of the Grecian spear in a narrow pass, where numbers were of no avail. The

¹ Or *Pylæ*, as it was called by the natives and surrounding inhabitants (*Herod.* vii. 201), i. e. the "pass," or "defile."

² The oracle had declared that either Sparta must be overthrown or its king must perish.—*Herod.* vii.

³ Ἐπεὶ δὲ μέλλωσι κινδυνεύειν τῇ ψυχῇ, τότε τὰς κεφαλὰς κοσμεῖνται.—*Herod.* vii.

Persians had exhausted every mode of attack,¹ and this mountain gorge would have been the scene of their entire defeat, had not a base Melian, named Ephialtes, betrayed this devoted band of heroes, by informing the Persians of a pass over the mountains, several miles to the west of Thermopylæ, by which they would be enabled to attack the Greeks at once in the front, the flank, and the rear. When the sentinels came down from the mountain to announce the approach of the enemy, Leonidas held a council of war, in which he declared his unalterable resolution to die rather than abandon his post of honour. He dismissed the other allies, upon whose willingness he could not reckon,² retaining only his 300 Spartans,³ with 700 Thespians; and a few Bœotians as hostages against their inclination. The ardour of Leonidas was seconded by the zeal of the soldiers. He therefore commanded them to prepare their last meal, and to sup like men who should to-morrow dine in Elysium.

When the day dawned, Leonidas attacked the Persians in the wider part of the valley, being resolved to sell his life as dearly as possible. The lion-hearted heroes fought with fury around him; and numerous were the corpses of the Persians. After their spears were broken or blunted, the Greeks fought sword in hand, and their short, but massy and well-tempered weapons, made an incredible havoc. Leonidas himself fell fighting among the bravest of the brave; and whilst the Greeks were contending for his body, the Persians, who had been conducted over the mountains, fell upon their rear. The Thebans seized the opportunity of passing over with outstretched arms to the Persians; but many lost their ignoble lives in the confusion. The little band now stationed themselves on a

¹ *Καὶ κατὰ τίλεα καὶ παντοίως προσβάλλοντες.*—*Herod.* vii.

² Herodotus assigns other reasons, but "is most inclined to that opinion." *Ταύτη καὶ μᾶλλον τῇ γνώμῃ πλείστος εἰμι.*—*Herod.* vii.

³ *Ἐν ὁμήρων λόγῳ.*—*Herod.* vii.

knoll at the entrance of the pass, and continued the struggle. Two only of the Spartans outlived this fatal day (July 6. 480). A marble lion was afterwards erected on the spot, in honour of Leonidas, by the Amphictyons.¹ The base traitor Ephialtes was afterwards slain by a Trachinian; but his death could not awake the noble warriors whom his treachery had sacrificed.

The barbarians now marched through the district of Doris to Phocis. At Panopeus the army divided itself. The main body entered Bœotia, where Thespiæ and Platææ, as being attached to the Greek cause, were reduced to ashes. The smaller detachment stretched to the right, along the western skirts of Mount Parnassus, and endeavoured to pillage the temple of Delphi. But a violent storm terrified the invaders. They heard preternatural sounds, and saw preternatural phantoms; and immense rocks rolling from the mountains, overwhelmed their ranks. "Thus the arms of Apollo," according to the oracle, "were sufficient for the defence of the shrine."

¹ Two monuments were erected upon the spot; one for the Greeks in general, and the other for the Spartans in particular. The inscription of the latter was as follows:—

Ὁ ξεῖν' ἀγγέλλειν Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὅτι τῇδε
Κείμεθα τοῖς κείνων ρήμασι πειθόμενοι.

"Go, stranger, declare to the Lacedæmonians that we lie here in obedience to their laws."—*Herod.* vii. c. 128. Compare *ρήματα* with *ρήτραι*, p. 129. Aristodemus and Pantites were the only two Spartans who survived the carnage. The former endeavoured to redeem his character at Platææ. and the latter committed suicide.

CHAPTER IX.

THE PERSIAN WARS, TILL THE BATTLE OF SALAMIS.

The Persians at Eubœa—Stratagems of Themistocles—Battle of Salamis—Retreat of Xerxes—Honours conferred upon Themistocles.

WHILST Xerxes pressed towards Thermopylæ with his land-army, his fleet appeared off Cape Sepias, near Artemisium. Here the Persians, being obliged, on account of the smallness of the harbour, to lie considerably out to sea, lost four hundred of their ships in a storm;¹ for the Hellespontine, or north-east wind, when it once begins to blow in those seas with any considerable force, seldom ceases for several days. Yet the Persian fleet was still numerous, and most of the Greeks were inclined to return from Artemisium to the coasts of Peloponnesus. The inhabitants of Eubœa perceived this with alarm. They sent to Themistocles a present of thirty talents, who was thus enabled, by means of bribery, to induce the Spartan and Corinthian commanders to maintain their position. This he effected, by a judicious distribution of eight talents only, reserving the remaining twenty-two for his own purposes.² The Spartan Eurybiades had been invested with the command of the fleet. The allies refused to co-operate on any other conditions; and the Athenians were too magnanimous to risk the safety of Greece in a mere quarrel about precedence.

The Persians, on the other hand, being anxious merely that the Greeks should not escape, despatched two hundred ships round Eubœa to cut off their retreat. Though the

¹ The Athenians, in consequence of a prediction, prayed to Boreas before the storm. "Whether the barbarians were attacked by the storm on that account, I cannot say," adds Herodotus, very characteristically; "but the Athenians believed it, and afterwards built a special temple to the god on the river Ilissus."

² Herod. viii. 5. Compare Plut. Them. 8.

battle remained undecided, the Greeks captured thirty of the enemy's ships. The Persian ships that had been ordered to sail round Eubœa, were overtaken by a storm, and wrecked on an unknown coast.¹ The Greeks, having received a reinforcement of fifty-three ships, made a fresh attack on the following evening, the dusk being particularly favourable to their designs, on account of their knowledge of the coast, and skill in manœuvring their vessels. This attack terminated in the annihilation of the Cilician vessels. The Persians, stimulated, in a great measure, by a dread of the anger of Xerxes, made a grand attack on the third day. Both sides fought with fury, and both fleets suffered so severely, that the Greeks, when night ended the contest, seriously meditated a retreat. It may be remarked, as a coincidence, that the sea-fights took place on the same days as the land-battles at Thermopylæ; the Greeks, in the one case, availing themselves of the straits called Euripus, and, in the other, of a narrow defile,—to arrest the Persian forces.

In this determination to retreat the Greeks were confirmed, by the account which they received of the issue of the struggle at Thermopylæ. It seemed but of little consequence to defend the shores, when the enemy were in possession of the northern territories. They, therefore, effected their retreat round Sunium, and stood 378 strong between the city of Eleusis, and the island of Salamis. Their numbers had been augmented by the naval strength of Epirus and Acarnania, on account of the fortunate engagements at Artemisium; and, on the other hand, reinforcements from the Greek cities and islands, restored the Persian fleet to its original complement. Before they left Artemisium, Themistocles engraved on the rocks an exhortation to the Asiatic Greeks to abandon the ranks

¹ "Every thing," says Herodotus, "was done by the divinity, in order to reduce the Persian forces to an equality with the Grecian."—*Lib. viii.*

of Xerxes, reminding them that "Colonies owe to their mother country, the same duties which children owe to their parents." Xerxes had always suspected the fidelity of the Asiatic Greeks; and this would increase his suspicion, and might prevent him from employing them to the extent he otherwise would have done.¹

The anxiety of the Peloponnesians appeared only to extend to the Peloponnesus; and the land-army under Cleombrotus, brother of Leonidas, was now occupied in fortifying the isthmus of Corinth, by a wall stretching across it from sea to sea.² The Persians, in the mean time, were moving towards the defenceless Athens, the principal object of their vengeance. Themistocles, by his great address, prevailed upon the inhabitants to give up the stones and walls to the fury of the barbarians. No sacrifice appeared too great to the Greeks, if they could thereby preserve the liberty, which they had received from their ancestors, intact. Those capable of bearing arms went on board the ships—the women, the old men, and children, took refuge in Salamis, Ægina, and Troezen on the Argolic coast which, notwithstanding the defection of Argos, still adhered to the national cause. Athens was burnt July 20, 480 B. C.

Themistocles saw clearly that, if Greece was to be delivered, it must be by a sea-fight near Salamis, where the narrowness of the sea promised great advantages. The Peloponnesians were desirous of making for the Isthmus,³

¹ Artemisia, the queen of Halicarnassus, who was not slow in observing the superiority of the Greeks in naval affairs, endeavoured to dissuade Xerxes from venturing another engagement, observing, that "If Xerxes would only remain a few weeks in Attica, 400 ships could not long be supplied with provisions from the rocks of Salamis." Such observations could hardly be palatable to the vanity of Xerxes.

² Their indifference to the fate of the Athenians is well expressed. *Καὶ ἰδὼκει Ἀθηναίων οὐκ ἔτι δέσθαι οὐδέν.*—*Herod.* ix. 8.

³ Herodotus justly observes, that he could not see any advantage which the Peloponnesians could derive from the wall across the Isthmus, provided the Persians should become masters of the sea; for they could then make a descent upon any part of the peninsula.—*Herod.* vii. 139.

particularly when they heard that the Acropolis was taken ; alleging that if they were vanquished in a sea-fight near Salamis, they would be shut up in the island without hope of relief. Themistocles, however, thought not of retreat, but victory. In a council of war, he advocated the necessity of striking a decisive blow, with all the vehemence which could spring from a consciousness of truth. "Themistocles," said Adimantus, the Corinthian, "those who rise before their time in the games are flogged."—"Yes," said he, "but those who loiter are not crowned." Themistocles shewed, that by leaving their present position, they would lose Salamis, Megara, and Ægina ; and that the Peloponnesus would be exposed to greater danger, as the Persian army would necessarily follow the movements of the fleet. And when Adimantus again, in allusion to him, observed that a man, who had no city, ought not to be heard, Themistocles replied with dignity and meaning, "We have, indeed, abandoned our houses and walls, for we will not become slaves for the sake of dead stones. But these two hundred well-manned ships are our city, and the greatest of all Greek cities, if you will only be saved by them. If, however, we are a second time abandoned, we will sail away to Italy, and there found a new state."

This significant threat induced Eurybiades to give way ; and the decision of the allies was not a little influenced by the preternatural sounds and appearances, which seemed to indicate the approaching destruction of the barbarians.¹ But when the Persian army actually menaced the Peloponnesus, a retreat was finally determined upon in another consultation. Now, as all further attempts to induce them to remain were useless, Themistocles secretly withdrew from the council, and had recourse to a stratagem to bring on a

¹ These traits, in the narrative of historians, are not without their use. Superstition is ever most active in critical emergencies ; and we see to what extent the minds of the Greeks were absorbed in the events that were passing around them.

general engagement, before the Greeks could effect their retreat. For this purpose he sent a trusty messenger to Xerxes, to inform him that the Greeks were meditating flight, and that he might easily surround them, and effect their entire destruction, by anticipating their movements. The Egyptian ships were forthwith sent round Salamis, to occupy the strait behind the Greeks, and Persian troops were landed on the isle of Psyttalea, between the mainland and Salamis, in order that they might destroy, or take prisoners, whatever Greeks might be compelled to fly to it in the ensuing action. The first intelligence of these operations was brought to the Grecian fleet by Aristides; and its veracity, which was at first doubted, was subsequently confirmed, by the arrival of a ship belonging to the isle of Tenos.¹

As there was now no longer any choice, all prepared for battle. The Greeks began with the light their sacred hymns and pæans, which preceded their triumphant songs of war, accompanied by the animating sound of the trumpet. The shores of Attica re-echoed to the rocks of Salamis and Psyttalea.² Xerxes, who imagined that the defeat at Artemisium was in a great measure owing to his absence, took his station on the hill Ægaleos, opposite Salamis. Themistocles delayed the attack, until the ordinary breeze should spring up, so favourable to the experience of the Grecian mariners. At break of day the fleets met, and the conflict soon became general. The Athenians bore down east and west upon the enemy, animating each other with a martial song. "This day, sons of Athens, the common cause of Greece demands your valour."

The multitude of the Persian vessels served only to incommode them; for the narrowness of the sea prevented their free motion, and, at the same time, did not allow the

¹ Hence the Tenians were afterwards inscribed, on the tripod at Delphi, in the list of those who contributed to the overthrow of the barbarians.—*Herod.* viii.

² *Gillies*, c. x.

Persians to bring all their disposable force into action. The Phœnician vessels were repulsed; they ran foul of each other in the confusion, whilst the Athenians, skilfully closing round them, "caught and destroyed them like fish in a net."¹ The Athenians and the Æginetes vied with each other in bravery. The Athenians annihilated all vessels that offered any resistance, whilst the Æginetes got out to sea, and kept watch for all that were flying to the harbour of Phalerum, under the protection of the land army. The Persian troops, that had been stationed on the isle of Psyttalea, with the proud expectation of receiving the shattered fragments of the Grecian armament, were cut down to a man by Greek hoplites from Salamis, under the conduct of Aristides.² Many of the Greeks who had lost their ships, saved their lives by swimming; but the barbarians, being generally ignorant of this art, necessarily perished³ (Sept. 23, 480 B. C.).

Xerxes, on the following night, ordered his fleet to set out for the Hellespont, being afraid lest the Greeks should intercept his flight, by breaking down the bridge. The Athenians, who expected a fresh attack on the morning, learnt with amazement the flight of the enemy, and held a consultation as to what course it would be advisable to pursue. Themistocles gave it as his advice, that they should make themselves masters of the Hellespont; but this opinion was not acceded to. According to Herodotus, Themistocles sent the following message to Xerxes:—"Themistocles has diverted the Greeks from their proposition to destroy the

¹ *Æschylus, Persæ.* Many of the Asiatic Greeks either declined the engagement, or openly abandoned the king. *Æschylus*, who took part in the engagement, observes in his *Persæ*, that the sea was rendered almost invisible, from the number of floating wrecks and corpses. The Greeks, on their part, did not lose more than forty ships.

² The defeat of the naval armament of Xerxes forms the subject of the *Persæ* of *Æschylus*. The scene is laid at Susa.

³ A law existed at Athens, which ordained that boys should first learn to read, and then to swim.—*Sam. Petit. de Leg. Att.* p. 11. After the battle, the Corcyraeans, who had remained behind to reconnoitre, alleged as a pretext, that they had been prevented by the Etesian winds from doubling the Cape of Malea.—*Herod.* vii. 166.

bridge over the Hellespont, in order to do *you* a service."¹ Xerxes soon commenced his retreat, but not with his whole army. Famine and pestilence filled up the measure of his calamities, and with the exception of the three hundred thousand men who were left behind under Mardonius, at his earnest request,² to effect the subjugation of Greece, scarcely a remnant was left³ of that mighty armament which had darkened the waves of the *Ægean*.

In the mean time, the Greeks had called to account some of the islands which had been induced to join the Persians. The unfortunate Cyclades were laid under a heavy contribution; and Themistocles does not appear to have neglected any opportunities of enriching himself and his favourites. After their return, a consultation was held as to the acknowledgment of the gratitude due to gods and men for this signal victory. Three captured vessels, and a statue holding the beak of a ship, were unanimously dedicated to the god at Delphi; and with respect to the pre-eminence of the commanders in point of merit, the following criterion was adopted. Each was desired to go to the altar of Neptune, and declare who was first, and who was second in merit; and, as each gave the first place to himself, and the second to Themistocles, the involuntary acknowledgment of *his* merit was manifest. At Sparta he was received with the most distinguished honours. The praise of courage was given to Eurybiades, but the praise of wisdom and ability, accompanied with an olive crown,⁴ was awarded to Themistocles; and a guard of three hundred horsemen accom-

¹ In the succeeding history, we see how Themistocles turned this act of equivocal kindness to account. Before the expedition, Artabanus, the uncle of Xerxes, warned him, that in case of defeat, the Greeks might break down the bridge over the Hellespont.—*Herod.* vii.

² Mardonius was anxious to divert the indignation of Xerxes from himself, as he was the principal adviser of the expedition.—*Herod.* viii.

³ Οὐδὲν μέρος ὡς εἶπαι.—*Herod.* viii.

⁴ These simple rewards extorted from Tigranes the exclamation, "Heavens! Against what men have we come to contend? Insensible interest, they fight only for glory!"

panied him, on his departure, to the confines of Tegea.¹ When he appeared at the next Olympic games, the eyes of assembled Greece were fixed upon him alone. His desire of glory was now satisfied, and, being strongly affected, he confessed to his friends that he had now reaped the fruits of all that he had done for Greece.

CHAPTER X.

THE PERSIAN WARS TILL THE BATTLE OF MYCALE.

*Intrigues of Mardonius—Battle of Platææ—Battle of Mycale—
Liberation of the Ionians—Hegemony of Sparta.*

THE return of spring summoned the Greeks to fresh struggles; for Mardonius still remained in Thessaly with 300,000 men. As the Persian fleet lay quietly at Samos for the purpose of observing Ionia which was now somewhat suspected, Mardonius, in order to render himself again master of the sea, was desirous of gaining over Athens to the side of Persia. A proposition was therefore submitted to the Athenians, through the medium of Alexander, king of Macedonia, viz. that the existing liberties and independence of the Athenians should be secured; that their temples should be rebuilt, and their territory extended, if they would conclude a treaty with the Persians, and assist in subjugating the other Greek states. Alexander spoke of the attachment which Xerxes had always felt for the Athenians, and Mardonius, who was present, did not fail to observe, that "Xerxes could invade them every year with an increasing superiority of strength."

¹ Herodotus cannot recollect any similar instance. — *Lib.* viii.

The Spartans, fearing lest the Athenians should lend an ear to such a tempting proposition, despatched ambassadors to Athens. These ambassadors were intentionally admitted to the council where the proposition of Alexander was to be debated. Scarcely had the discussion commenced when the Spartans rose. They conjured the Athenians not to forsake Greece, on which they had first drawn down the vengeance of the barbarians, and not to trust the promises which one tyrant (Alexander) brought from another (Xerxes). "As long as the sun pursues its course, so long will the Athenians fight with the barbarians," were the words of their answer; whilst, on the other hand, they cautioned Alexander never to appear in Athens upon a similar errand, if he did not wish to atone for his rashness. They then addressed themselves to the Spartans, repelling their suspicions with true dignity, asserting that their common relationship in blood, language, and religion, would ever prevent them from becoming traitors to Greece,¹ and requesting that they should march with all possible expedition to Bœotia, to arrest the progress of the barbarian.²

Mardonius now entered Bœotia, and the Thebans again manifested their attachment to Persia. As the Spartans delayed sending the promised assistance, the Athenians were a second time compelled to abandon their city on the approach of the enemy. Mardonius again submitted his proposition, but it was again rejected; nay, so strong was the determination of the people, that they stoned to death Lycidas, one of the senators, who proposed to treat, together with his wife and children. Ambassadors were now despatched to Sparta soliciting immediate assistance. For the space of ten days the Spartans refused to give any definite answer; and, during this interval, they were occupied in completing the wall across the Isthmus. But when the

¹ Τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔδν ὕμαιμον τε καὶ ὁμόγλωσσον.—*Herod.* viii.

² This declaration was drawn up by Aristides. Plutarch terms it *συνμασπρὴν ἀπόκρισιν*.—*Arist.* 10.

Ephori were reminded by Chileus of Tegea that the strongest wall across the Isthmus would be no protection to the Peloponnesians if the Athenians went over to the Persians, they despatched that very night 5000 Spartans, accompanied with 35,000 Helots, as light-armed troops; and this force was afterwards joined by 5000 Periceci.

Mardonius, being informed concerning the march of the Spartans, returned to Bœotia, whose extensive plains would be better adapted for the operation of his cavalry.¹ Here he fortified himself along the river Asopus, whilst the Greeks took up their position on the opposite bank, at the foot of Mount Cithæron. The Greeks amounted, in all, to 110,000 men, and the supreme command was invested in Pausanias. Both parties wished to take advantage of their respective positions: the Persians of their position on the plain, on account of their cavalry, and the Greeks of their position at the foot of the mountain, on account of their inferior numbers. Some time elapsed, therefore, before any general attack; the soothsayers in both armies promising the victory to those who should act upon the defensive.

The Greeks, however, finding their present position inconvenient, moved nearer to Platææ. They marched along the foot of Mount Cithæron, prepared, on the slightest signal, to convert the column of march into the order of battle. They encamped by the fountain Gargaphia. This watering-place was again destroyed by an unexpected

¹ The following incident is recorded by Herodotus. "The Phocians, being compelled to join the barbarians, sent a thousand men. Mardonius, suspecting their fidelity perhaps, ordered them to be encamped in a separate body on the plain, and surrounded by the Persian cavalry. The Phocians immediately arranged themselves in order of battle, bristling with spears on every side; this struck terror into the barbarians, and Mardonius sent a message intimating that he had sufficiently tested their bravery, Lib. ix. c. i. seqq. From another anecdote, recorded by the same writer, we perceive that the Persians entertained gloomy apprehensions respecting the issue of the present war, that many lamented the mad ambition of Xerxes, and the fatal rashness of Mardonius, c. 15.

incursion of the barbarians; and it was again necessary to decamp. After the lapse of eleven days, Mardonius became impatient of further delay, and determined, even without favourable sacrifices, to give battle at once. As the Persian cavalry also intercepted the supplies of grain, the Greeks resolved to move still nearer to Platææ, where they would have abundance of water, and be less exposed to the attacks of the Persian cavalry. This was effected during the night, but the retreat was so ill concerted that, on the break of day, it presented the appearance of a rout rather than a regular march.¹ Mardonius, who soon perceived what had taken place, immediately broke up his camp and pursued the Greeks at the head of his cavalry; the rest of the army following without order or regularity.

The Persians first fell in with the Lacedæmonians and Tegeates, in their march up the Cithæron. Pausanias immediately sent off for aid to the Athenians, who had now reached the plain on the other side. As the Athenians were somewhat detained by a smart encounter with the Greek allies of the Persians; the Spartans and Tegeates, who were about 53,000 strong, were left to deal single-handed with the main army of the Persians. The Spartans, who remained passive for some time, on account of the sacrifices being unfavourable, suffered considerably from the arrows of the Persians.

As soon as Pausanias declared the sacrifices to be favourable, the Spartans followed the Tegeates, who had advanced and broken the Persian ranks. Now the conflict became furious. The Persians, according to Herodotus, failed

¹ As the Lacedæmonians stood at the head of the Greek confederacy, they commanded, of course, the right wing in order of battle. But a dispute respecting the command of the left broke out between the Athenians and the Tegeates, of Tegea in Arcadia, who appear to have forgotten Salamis and Marathon. In a council of war, Aristides, on the part of the Athenians, observed, "that at such a conjuncture the Athenians would not dispute about precedence, but were willing to fight wherever the Lacedæmonians should place them." The command of the left was accordingly given to the Athenians.

neither in will nor courage; but their comparatively light armour, and their want of discipline,¹ rendered their inferiority to the Greeks soon manifest. It is the greatest disadvantage of cavalry, that its force does not increase with the reduplication of its ranks, while, on the other hand, the Spartan phalanx was continually augmenting its depth and its strength. With extended spears, they not only sustained the shock of the Persian squadron, but penetrated its ranks.² As long as Mardonius, mounted on a white charger, animated his men, the victory remained undecided, but when he fell, the rout became general. The Persian commander, Artabanus, who had taken no part in the engagement, led his troops through Phocis to the Hellespont; the remainder of the army fled to the camp, whither they were pursued and slaughtered (Sept. 25, 479 B. C.).³

The booty found here was immense—couches magnificently embroidered; tables of gold and silver; bowls and goblets of gold; chains, bracelets, scymitars, some of solid gold and others adorned with precious stones; innumerable horses and camels; and to crown all, many chests of Persian money, which began at that time, and continued long after, to be current in Greece.⁴ A tenth was set apart for the gods; another tenth as a present for Pausanias; and prizes were distributed among the bravest of the surviving warriors. Here Aristodemus, the sole relict of the 300 at Thermopylæ, nobly redeemed his character; but still the Spartans conceived his achievements to proceed from goaded sensibility rather than spontaneous valour.⁵ The praise of valour was awarded to the Platæans, whose territory had been the theatre of this glorious struggle for Grecian freedom.

¹ Ἀνοπλοι δὲ ἔόντες καὶ πρὸς ἀνεπιστήμονες ἦσαν.—*Herod. ix.*

² *Gillies, c. 10.*

³ The Spartans and the other allies could make no impression upon the camp until the arrival of the Athenians.

⁴ *Gillies, c. x.* Peculiar presents were offered to the temples of the national deities; the Olympian Jupiter, the Isthmian Neptune, and the Delphian Apollo. The Athenians did not forget their guardian Minerva.

⁵ *Herod. ix. 70.*

After the victory, all the states, which had not deserted the cause of their country, claimed a share in the glory of the day; hence the Æginetes and others erected cenotaphs beside the monuments of the Athenians, Spartans, Tegeates, &c. who had fallen in the fight.¹

After the battle of Salamis, Xerxes, as we have already stated, despatched his fleet to Samos for the purpose of checking any commotions that might arise in this quarter. Envoys, however, in spite of this precaution, were sent to the Greeks, praying for aid to shake off the Persian yoke. The Ionians, they said, were ripe for revolt; and the Persian navy was quite incompetent to contend² with the Athenian. The Greek fleet immediately set sail for Samos;³ but the Persians, who dreaded a sea-fight, sailed to Mycale, where an army of 60,000 men, under Tigranes, lay encamped. Here they not only drew their ships on shore, but surrounded them with a ditch and palisades, and even a stone wall.

The Greeks, when they learned that the Persians had fled, were somewhat disconcerted; but it was finally agreed upon that they should follow the barbarians, and prepare for the contest, "whose prize," says Herodotus, "was the Hellespont and the islands."⁴ It took place on the same day as the battle at Platææ, and the courage of the Greeks was not a little excited by a report that was circulated respecting the victory obtained there over the barbarians. The Persians made a gallant resistance, but in vain. The Greeks stormed the rampart of the Persians, and afterwards their camp, burnt their ships and fortifications, and realized an immense

¹ *Herod.* ix. 85. Thebes was forthwith called to account for its adherence to Persia; and the leading men handed over to condign punishment.

² *Οὐκ ἀξιωμαχους.*—*Herod.* ix. 90.

³ In the spring the Greek fleet was at Delos. The Greeks were as yet so unaccustomed to navigation that, according to Herodotus, they did not dare to advance any farther, and they thought Samos was as distant as the pillars of Hercules.—*Herod.* viii. 132. The observation seems to contain a satirical allusion to the irresolute conduct of the Spartan commander, Leotychidas.—*Wachsmuth*, ii. p. 92.

⁴ *Καὶ αἱ νῆσοι καὶ ὁ Ἑλλήσποντος ἄεθλα προέκειτο.*—*Herod.* ix.

booty.¹ The Milesians, who had been posted by the enemy to guard the passes of Mycale, in case of retreat, prevented rather than promoted their escape,

But the most splendid result of this victory was the freedom of the Ionians. The Samians, Lesbians, Chians, and all the inhabitants of the islands, were forthwith admitted into alliance with the Greeks. As it appeared difficult to defend the Ionians on the main land,² the Peloponnesians proposed to transport them to Greece, and settle them in the territories of those who had sided with the Persians during the invasion.³ As a commercial people, however, the Athenians did not wish to lose such an important outlet for the treasures of Asia; nor, as a military people, to give up such an important base of operations for its conquest. They protested therefore against the proceeding, on the ground that the Peloponnesians had no right to pass decrees affecting Athenian colonies. The proposal was accordingly rejected. As winter was at hand, the Peloponnesians returned home; but the Athenians, desirous of recovering the Chersonese, laid siege to Sestus and captured it.

Sparta now stood at the head of a confederacy, the representatives of which might well call themselves the united senate⁴ of the Greek race, comprising the colonies of Asia Minor, as well as the states of the mother country. As to the nature of this *hegemony* or supremacy, we may observe, that Sparta had the supreme command in war, and afforded a common resort for the assemblies of the allies. Each state furnished fixed contributions of money, and contingents

¹ Herodotus concludes his history of the wars of the Persians and Greeks with the battle of Mycale.

² Compare *Wachsmuth*, vol. ii. p. 147. "That the western coast of Asia was not delivered from the Persian yoke by the battle of Mycale, is demonstrated by the history of Themistocles, who found a secure retreat in Ephesus, and subsequently derived an income from Lampascus, Myus, and Magnesia, which were bestowed upon him by the Persian monarch absolutely."—*Thuc.* i. 138.

³ *Herod.* ix. 106. Compare *Thuc.* vi. 82.

⁴ Κοινὸν συνέδριον.

of troops; and Sparta was charged with the execution of whatever appertained to this military confederacy. The political independence of the other states was not compromised, and the contributions were not compulsory, like the tribute¹ subsequently exacted by Athens from her allies.² Afterwards Sparta continued to consider the council of its confederacy as the superior court of judicature for all Greece.

CHAPTER XI.

THE PERSIAN WARS, TILL THE RECALL OF PAUSANIAS.

Festivals and Monuments of the Greeks—Fortification of Athens—The Piræus—Intrigues of Pausanias—Hegemony of Athens.

THE immense booty which fell into the hands of the Greeks, by reason of these victories, inspired them with a taste for external luxury and splendour. The Greeks devised every method for associating their glorious achievements with the innermost conceptions of the people. The anniversaries of those memorable days were kept as holy festivals, in which the praise of the fallen was ever celebrated afresh by the greatest orators. The plain of Marathon,³ down to a late period, was considered with superstitious

¹ Φόρος.

² *Thuc.* i. 19. Hence the Spartans might justly claim the merit of respecting the internal constitution (*ἀντρονομία*) and administration (*ἀντροτελεία*) of the confederates, as well as their right to adjudicate their own causes (*ἀντρόδικοι*).

³ In the picture of this battle, which, at the distance of half a century, was painted by order of the senate, and adorned the Pœcile, the only honour accorded to Miltiades, was his being represented in the fore-ground, as animating his men to victory. Plutarch, (*Cim.*) and Æschines, (*Adv. Ctes.*) furnish us with examples of the jealousy of the Greeks, lest the fame due to their troops in general should be engrossed by the commanders.

awe as the nocturnal haunt of supernatural appearances ; and the "champions of Marathon" was the name which their degenerate descendants loved to apply to the heroes of the glorious days¹ of Athens. The ground at Thermopylæ was adorned partly by the Amphictyonic council, and partly by private individuals, with monuments inscribed to the memory of the "four thousand Peloponnesians who fought here against three thousand-thousand," or of the "three hundred Spartans who lie here obedient to Sparta's laws."² Every year the Platæans held a general festival in honour of those who fell at Platææ, and offered their first fruits to the protecting deities of their country, and the manes of their heroes. They also built a magnificent temple to Minerva, and adorned it with paintings, which Plutarch saw six hundred years afterwards in a state of perfect freshness. The temples at Olympia, Delphi, and the Isthmus, were filled with similar memorials.

Whilst the Athenians, having returned to their city,³ now converted into a heap of ruins, were engaged in rebuilding their houses, Themistocles directed his attention to what was of general and enduring interest. He saw that the defenceless state of Athens had hitherto exposed it to the attack of every enemy ; and he therefore obtained a decree of the people, that all other buildings should be suspended, until a strong wall should be completed round the city. The Spartans, who were jealous of the growing power

¹ *Arist. Acharn.* 181. *Μαραθωνομάχοι*. *Nub.* 986.—This period, says Wachsmuth, may be extended till the breaking out of the plague, and the death of Pericles.—*Vol.* ii. p. 36.

² This inscription is cited p. 165, *note*.

³ Their wives, children, and most valuable effects were removed from the isles of Ægina and Salamis. In the latter island they celebrated their good fortune by a national solemnity. The sublime Sophocles joined in the chorus of boys which danced around the barbarian spoils (*Athenæus*, l. i.); the valour of his predecessor, Æschylus, had contributed to the victories by which they were obtained; and his rival, the tender Euripides, was born in the isle of Salamis on that important day, which proved alike glorious to Greece, and fatal to Persia.—*Gillies*, c. xii.

of the Athenians, represented to them the impolicy of raising fortifications which, in case of a foreign invasion, might serve as a rendezvous to the enemy as Thebes had been to the Persians during the last war, and render it impossible to expel them from their country. The Athenians, at the suggestion of Themistocles, promised to send an embassy to Sparta, who would give every satisfactory explanation respecting the affair.

In the mean time, the building of the wall proceeded rapidly. The free citizens, assisted by their wives, children, and slaves, worked at it incessantly; and the wall, being composed of stones rough and unpolished, for it was built out of ruins of every description, afterwards bore marks of the precipitation with which it had been raised. Themistocles himself went as an envoy to Sparta, and continued there some time without giving any explanation, excusing himself on the ground that his colleagues had not yet arrived. Fresh intelligence now arrived about the increasing height of the wall; but Themistocles still denied it, at the same time requesting the Spartans to send ambassadors to Athens, to ascertain the truth of the matter.¹ They did so, but the Athenians, according to the direction of Themistocles, kept the ambassadors as hostages for the safety of himself and his colleagues. Themistocles now explained himself with all the frankness of an Athenian citizen. "He heard with satisfaction that Athens was sufficiently fortified for her own security. The Athenians were quite competent to determine what was for their own, as well as the general weal. Either all the allies must have open cities, or Athens be permitted to have walls." The Spartans saw that they were out-manœuvred, but dissembled their resentment, and the ambassadors were dismissed on both sides.²

As the security of Athens was now sufficiently provided

¹ Some say that he bribed the most popular of the Ephori.

² We see how bitterly the Spartans persecuted him afterwards.

for in case of a war by land, Themistocles renewed his representations to the Athenians respecting the advantages which would accrue to all Greece, by the possession of a strong and secure harbour, in case the Persians should again attempt its subjugation. The ancient Athenian harbour of Phalerum was small and inconvenient. The harbour of the Piræus, distant about five miles from the citadel, was therefore joined to the city by long walls, sufficiently broad to admit two carriages abreast. This harbour was very capacious, and is said to have been capable of containing three hundred ships. The Piræus, however, did not continue a mere harbour annexing the town to the sea, but soon grew into a city of itself, abounding with temples, porticoes, and other magnificent structures. In addition to this, Themistocles induced the people to pass a resolution, that a certain number of ships (twenty triremes) should be built annually;¹ and he established other regulations, by which he drew many strangers to the city, and artisans of every description. These resident foreigners lived in a state of freedom, though not invested with the rights and privileges of Athenian citizens. They paid an annual contribution in return for their security.²

The conduct of Pausanias, the conqueror of Platææ, proved almost fatal, at this period, to the supremacy of Sparta. He had been sent out at the head of the allied fleet,³ for the purpose of expelling the Persians from the islands and coasts of the Hellespont. The barbarians were soon driven out of Thrace and the island of Cyprus; whilst Byzantium, situate between the Bosphorus and the Hellespont, "two straits which it might occasionally shut to an hostile navy, or open to the fleets of commerce," surrendered after a siege of short duration. In the latter, many

¹ The produce of the silver mines was appropriated to this purpose; hitherto it had been divided among the citizens at large.—*Plut. Vit. Them.* c. 4.

² *Μεροίκιον*.

³ Thirty Athenian, and fifty Peloponnesian ships.

of the most distinguished Persians, even relations of the "king," were among the captives (470 B. C.).

The rich spoils of Plataeæ had raised Pausanias above the equality of his fellow-citizens. He exhibited his insolence, in claiming to himself the victory of Plataeæ, and his weakness, in causing an inscription to that effect to be engraved on a tripod in the temple of Delphi. He contracted a disgust for the simplicity of the Spartan mode of life, when compared with the luxury of the Persians; and for his own limited power, as king of Sparta, when compared even with that of the royal satraps. Accordingly, he permitted those, who had been taken prisoners in Byzantium, to make good their escape to Persia; and he also wrote to Xerxes, stating that he had it in contemplation to reduce all Greece under the power of Persia, provided Xerxes would engage to give him his daughter in marriage. The flattering attentions of Xerxes, on account of this proposition, so far intoxicated Pausanias, that he soon began to overstep all the bounds of moderation and policy. As if he had been already a Persian satrap, he surrounded himself with Egyptian and Median guards, adopted the Persian style of living and dress—he became difficult of access to his colleagues; and, at the same time, treated the allies with haughtiness and severity, for they were not allowed to forage or draw water, until the Spartans had been previously supplied.

This excited general dissatisfaction. The Peloponnesian allies sailed home; whilst those from Ionia and the islands, influenced by the ties of consanguinity,¹ conferred the supreme command upon Aristides, and put themselves under the protection of Athens. Pausanias was recalled, and the Lacedæmonians did not send out a successor, but several captains, with divided authority. The confederates, however, rejected them; and the Spartans renounced their

: ¹ Κατὰ τὸ συγγενεῖς.—Thuc. i. 95.

supremacy by sea, being desirous of retiring from the naval war against Persia, and being convinced that foreign expeditions were incompatible with the spirit of their institutions. (477 B. C.). The Athenian supremacy, or *hegemony*, extended chiefly over the islands and the coasts of Asia Minor; the states of the Peloponnesus, together with Ægina, withdrew from the scene; and with the exception of Eubœa, no state of the mother country seems to have paid a war-tax, nor to have sent ships to the allied fleet. The armed confederacy of Sparta, with its ancient federal council which was generally assembled on the isthmus during the war, still subsisted along with the naval confederacy of Athens.¹

The Athenians, on their part, exhibited much discretion in the exercise of their new powers. Aristides did not select Athens as the point of reunion for the allies, but the island of Delos, which was looked upon as sacred by all the Greeks. The temple, too, of Apollo at Delos, served as a treasury for the sums contributed by the allies for defraying the expenses which might be incurred in prosecuting the war against the Persians.² Aristides first filled the office of treasurer,³ and fixed for the individual states the sum of their respective contributions,⁴ which amounted altogether to four hundred and sixty talents. The apportionment must have been equitable, for no state complained of injustice or partiality. The prosecution of the common war against the barbarians,⁵ served for a number of years to preserve the unanimity of the Greeks.

¹ Herod. vii. 175; viii. 123.

² Military pay was not yet introduced.

³ Ἐλληνοραμίας.

⁴ Φόρος. On Aristides throwing open the archonship, and other public offices. See p. 136, *note*. From a national increase of wealth, it is probable that the second and third classes approached each other very closely; and in the Peloponnesian war, we find the *Thetes* furnished with arms by the state, to serve as hoplitæ.

⁵ Pausanias tells us, that it was decreed, that the temples burnt down by the Persians should not be rebuilt, in order that their ruins might serve as mementos to stimulate hatred against the barbarians. (ἐχθρὸς ὑπομνήματα).—ix. 35. 2.

Aristides, though he had the administration of the public money, died so poor, that he was buried, and his daughters were portioned, at the public expense. His successors, says Plutarch, filled Athens with treasures and works of art; but Aristides sought to render it rich in virtue. His uncompromising integrity rendered abortive all attempts at speculation on the part of Themistocles and others;¹ and his resistance of the plan for promoting the maritime aggrandizement of Athens, flowed from a conviction that it was unlawful for that state to appropriate to itself the rights of others;² and perhaps from a salutary fear, that such an aggrandizement would undermine the virtues of the Athenian character.

CHAPTER XII.

PAUSANIAS, CIMON, PERICLES.

Condemnation of Pausanias—Exile of Themistocles—Victories of Cimon—Treatment of the Allies—Regulations of Pericles.

IN the mean time, Pausanias had been recalled by the scytale³, but had contrived, by means of bribery, to get clear of the principal charge brought against him, viz. treasonable correspondence with the court of Persia. Though not sent upon any mission by the state, he soon afterwards proceeded to the Hellespont, where he again opened negotia-

¹ *Plut. Aristid.* iv.

² See *Wachsmuth*, vol. ii. p. 66—72.

³ The scytale was a narrow scroll of parchment, rolled on a piece of wood, and then stamped with the decree of the republic. Every Spartan invested with authority abroad, had a corresponding tally, which, when applied to the parchment, enabled him to read the contents of the despatch.

tions with Artabazus, the Persian satrap. He was now recalled a second time ; but, although there existed manifest proofs of his traitorous ambition, and although it was known that he had promised freedom to the Helots, in case they would support him in his schemes, yet the Ephori still hesitated to grapple with him. At length a confidant¹ of Pausanias put the matter beyond all doubt, by shewing to the Ephori a letter which he should have carried to Artabazus, and by affording them an opportunity of overhearing a conversation betwixt himself and Pausanias, in which the latter expressed himself without reserve, in reference to his dealings with Persia.

As the evidence was now complete, the Ephori were desirous of arresting Pausanias ; but he, having received intimation of their object, escaped to the temple of Minerva. As the sanctuary would have been violated by dragging even a criminal from it by force, the Ephori proceeded to block up the temple and unroof it, in order to accelerate his death. When on the point of expiring, they took him out of the temple, lest the sacred precincts should be polluted by his corpse. Themistocles, whom the Spartans had ever considered as their most dangerous enemy, was involved in the fate of Pausanias ; he was banished by ostracism (B. C. 469).

The Spartans now came forward, and charged Themistocles with his having been acquainted with the projects of Pausanias. It was determined, in consequence, to bring him prisoner to Athens, in order to take his trial. Upon hearing this, Themistocles fled to Corcyra, for he was aware that no integrity could withstand republican envy and Spartan intrigue. From Corcyra he passed over to Epirus. From thence he fled to Admetus, king of the Molossians. Admetus being too weak to protect him, assisted him in

¹ His suspicions had been excited, by remarking that none of those, who had been sent on the same errand, had ever returned. He broke open the letter, therefore, and read his own fate.

making good his escape to Asia Minor. From Ephesus, Themistocles wrote to the young Artaxerxes, who had just ascended the throne, narrating the vicissitudes of his life, and appealing to the kindness that he had manifested towards Xerxes in his necessity. After having spent a year in making himself sufficiently acquainted with the Persian manners and language, he presented himself in person at the court of Susa. In the mean time, the property which he had left behind him, amounting to a hundred talents, was confiscated to the state; and the eagerness of the people to divide the spoil, may explain the alacrity with which all parties had combined for his destruction.

He met with a good reception from the king, and, according to Persian usage, the revenues of three cities were granted him; Lampsacus for his wine, Magnesia for his bread, and Myus for his meat. He lived for some time in possession of this income; the year, as well as the manner of his death, are equally uncertain. That the love of his native country was never extinguished in him, may be gathered from the circumstance, that he ordered his bones to be carried to Attica, and secretly buried. The conduct of Themistocles fully justifies the character that has been given him by Thucydides, viz. "that by innate intelligence alone, unaided by study either in youth or in after life, he could discern, at a single glance, the fitting and proper course to be pursued in present affairs, and anticipate the results of the future; and that he was signally qualified, both by the vigour of his genius, and his promptness in deliberation, to take the proper steps in sudden emergencies."

After the exile of Themistocles, Cimon stood at the head of the Athenian republic. He laboured by every means in his power, and particularly by his liberality¹ and condescen-

¹ Some contributions are placed to the account of his liberality, which were no more than his duty as a citizen; for instance, the entertainment of his *demotæ* (or "ward"), one of the liturgies, or "public services" of the wealthy Athenians (*ἐστίασις*).

sion to procure the favour of the people; yet at the same time he was a great admirer of the constitution of Solon. He endeavoured to maintain a good understanding among the Greek states, and particularly betwixt Sparta and Athens; whilst he prosecuted the war against the Persians with the greatest zeal and energy. He took the city Eion, on the Thracian coast, which was garrisoned by Persian forces, and which bravely defended itself to the last¹ (471 B. C.). Boges, the governor, when exasperated by hunger, mounted the ramparts, followed by his companions, and threw into the Strymon their gold, silver, and other precious effects. They then lighted a funeral pile, and having butchered their wives and children, they precipitated themselves from the walls into the thickest of the flames.² Cimon also reduced the isle of Scyrus, inhabited by the piratical Dolopians (470 B. C.); and colonized it with Athenian citizens.³ Here he discovered the sepulchre of Theseus, and brought to Athens the urn that contained the ashes of the hero. Games and festivals were instituted in his honour; a *Heroum* was erected to him on the Colonus Hippias, and a temple, the *Theseium*, in the city.

Having received reinforcements from the republic and the islands, Cimon next proceeded to dislodge the Persians from their strong holds in Caria. The extensive coast of Lycia then submitted to him; a capitulation was granted to the city of Phaselis which alone made any resistance, on condition of paying down ten talents, and augmenting the Grecian armament by their whole naval strength. But the most brilliant victory of Cimon was that which he obtained over the Persians at Eurymedon, in Pamphylia (469 B. C.), where Artaxerxes, being alarmed by the progress of Cimon, had collected a powerful army. The battle was fought at the

¹ After various unsuccessful attempts, the provinces of the Strymon were permanently colonized by the Athenians (437 B. C.); the town Ennea Hodoi was now called Amphipolis.

² *Plut.* in Cimon. *Diodor.* LXI.

³ *Cleruchi*, p. 148, note.

mouth of the river. Cimon, when he had defeated the fleet, immediately landed in order to attack the army. The Greeks assumed the eastern attire of their prisoners; and, in this disguise, they were unsuspectingly admitted within the gates of the camp, where they slaughtered their adversaries. A universal panic seized the Persians. Cimon expended his share of the spoils¹ in embellishing his native city with shady walks, gardens, porticoes, schools of exercise and other works of general pleasure or utility.

Cimon then turned his course northwards, and rescued from the Persians the Thracian Chersonese, the key to Europe (468 B. C.). At a subsequent period we find him sailing with 300 triremes to Cyprus, and obtaining a victory over the hereditary enemy of the Hellenes. Owing to such a series of defeats, the Persian power was so far humbled, both by sea and land, that from this period no Persian ships sailed westward beyond the Chelidonian isles off the coast of Pamphylia, or the Cyanean mountains on the Euxine, i. e. between the northern extremity of the Thracian Bosphorus and the southern extremity of Lycia;² and no army came within 300 stadia of the sea. Such was the conclusion of that memorable war which, since the burning of Sardis, had been carried on with little intermission for the space of fifty-one years. In taking our leave of it, we cannot but remark, that the zeal and activity of Athens throughout the whole contest, stand in striking contrast to the supineness and petty jealousy of Sparta. Well might Herodotus make the observation that, "however ill the other Greeks might take it, Greece was indebted for its salvation to Athens."³

¹ *Ἐφόδια τῆς στρατιᾶς*.—*Plut.* Cim. 10. Gorgias (*ibid.*) said that Cimon amassed wealth in order that he might use it, and used it in order that he might obtain honour.

² In after-times a report arose that a treaty to this effect had been regularly concluded between Greece and Persia.—*Mitford, Hist. &c.* ii. 208.

³ We may remark that, from the period of the Persian war, the

Formidable as the Athenians had rendered themselves to their enemies, they had become equally so to their allies. The relation in which Athens originally stood as the leading member of the confederacy, was gradually converted into that of supremacy. Athenian magistrates and garrisons were sent to command them. The deliberations which ought to have been held in common at Delos, were now superseded by mere orders and regulations from Athens. The contributions were levied with rigour, and those who were at all refractory, saw a warning example in the case of Naxos. This island had attempted to withdraw itself from the union; but it was reduced by a formal siege to complete subjection (466 B. C.). The inhabitants of the isle of Thasus,¹ who demanded the restitution of their gold mines on the coast of Thrace, which the Athenians appear to have delivered from the Persians, were reduced after holding out three years (463 B. C.). The treasury was also removed from Delos to Athens (461), under pretence that it would be more secure there against the barbarians. The lands of the allies were frequently appropriated by "Athenian colonies;" and, at the same time, they were compelled to submit their domestic differences, and even their private litigations to the cognizance of Athenian tribunals. Thus, as Thucydides observes, the supremacy of Athens, which had originated in fear of the enemy, and been continued as an honorary pre-eminence, was now converted into a source of pecuniary advantage,² whilst the Athenian squadrons every where struck terror into the refractory, and the system was enforced by means of spies and inspectors.³

Greeks and the barbarians of Asia, continued in almost uninterrupted political contact, till the downfall of Grecian and Persian independence.

¹ After his expedition against Thasus, Cimon was accused by his rival Pericles of having been bribed by Alexander, king of Macedon, to refrain from attacking his possessions. Cimon was adjudged to pay a heavy fine.

² *Thuc.* i. 75.

³ *Κρυπτοί, ἐπίσκοποι, φύλακες.* On the revival of the Delia during the Peloponnesian war (important if viewed in connection with what is stated in the text). See *Thuc.* iii. 104,

This humiliating condition of the allies was, in fact, the result of their own imprudence. Having become weary of perpetual hostilities, and disinclined to sea service, the smaller states accepted the proposition of Cimon, that instead of fitting out and manning the triremes themselves, they should compound for personal service, and furnish empty vessels and contributions in money.¹ By thus depriving themselves of a marine, they virtually surrendered themselves into the hands of the Athenians. In this humiliating condition they eagerly directed their attention to Sparta, whose ancient jealousy only acquired fresh strength² with the growing power of Athens. Cimon found it more and more difficult to maintain a good understanding between Sparta and Athens; and, on the other hand, the popular party found a leader every way adapted to their wishes in the person of Pericles.

The first and most important undertaking of Pericles was his attack upon the Areopagus, a court composed of the most eminent citizens, namely, Archons who had vacated office, and therefore the strongest support of the aristocratic party, headed by Cimon. Whilst Cimon was absent at the head of the army in Thrace, Pericles caused a motion to be submitted by Ephialtes³ to the people, the object of which was to take away from the Areopagus the management of

¹ The contributions were raised by Pericles to three times the original sum.—Chios, Lesbos, and Samos, still kept up their naval force and performed service in person.

² Lacedæmon and Athens may be considered as respectively personifying the two opposite forms of oligarchy and democracy. Thucydides, in one sentence, has pertinently characterized the spirit of innovation, the restlessness and rapidity of action which distinguish the one in contrast with the attachment to existing institutions, and the slow ponderous movements and apathy which distinguish the other (*Thuc.* i. 70).

³ There is no authority for styling Ephialtes a vile and worthless demagogue. He is said to have been liberal, just, and disinterested; he is described as an honourable man by Plutarch, and placed in the same rank with Aristides and Cimon (*Cim.* 10; *Plut. Dem.* 14; *Heract. Pont.* 1; *Val. Max.* 3. 8. 4).—See *Wachsmuth*, ii. p. 76.

the most important matters, among which that of the public treasure was included. The people agreed to the motion ; and from that time the Areopagus existed merely as a court of judicature in cases of homicide, which was its original prerogative. It was not restored to its ancient dignity of guardian of the laws till the fall of the thirty tyrants. Its office as such, was in principle directly opposed to an absolute democracy, as it directed public attention to men who might endanger the state. This victory of the popular party contributed not a little to accelerate the fall of Cimon (469 B. C.).

Pericles also diminished the natural preponderance of the wealthy by dividing the conquered lands among the people. He sent five hundred citizens to Naxos (452 B. C.), two hundred and fifty to Andros, and probably a body of them to Eubœa ; a thousand to the country of the Bisaltæ, a thousand to the Chersonese ; not to mention Sinope, Amisus, Thurii, and Ægina, &c. Such citizens were termed *Cleruchi*¹ (p. 148, note ¹), and differed from ordinary colonists, inasmuch as they received allotments of property already laid out and improved ; their personal rights remained unaltered ; they were looked upon in every respect as citizens of the capital, subject to its jurisdiction, entitled to return there at any time they thought proper, and rated according to their property there.

The money which was now paid to the citizens attending the public assemblies brought the needy together in crowds, and ensured Pericles a decided majority (478). He was also the first rigorously to enforce the law, which directed that both the parents of any one, to whom the franchise descended by

¹ Lemnos, Imbrus, Scyrus, and Amphipolis, may perhaps be considered rather as colonies proper (*ἀποικίαι*) than *Cleruchiæ*. "The passage over to Asia was rendered secure by the Cleruchi on Naxos ; the entrance to the inner channel of Eubœa by those in Oreos (Hestia) ; the voyage to the northern seas by those of the Chersonese ; and the settlement of Athenian Cleruchi in Sinope, was designed to protect the navigation along the coasts of the Pontus."—*Wachsmuth*, vol. ii. p. 96.

hereditary succession, should have been citizens.¹ An exception to this rule was afterwards made in his own favour; for his natural son was allowed to enjoy the full rights of citizenship. The *Metæci*, or resident aliens, whose numbers had increased with the wealth and commerce of Athens, had been required to perform every species of service, even that of Hoplites; and, by thus taking upon themselves civil burthens, had been enabled to appropriate surreptitiously to themselves the rights of citizenship. Pericles instituted a scrutiny, and removed the spurious citizens from the register; four thousand seven hundred and twenty were sold into captivity as the law directed.

CHAPTER XIII.

HISTORY OF GREECE TILL THE DEATH OF CIMON.

Earthquake and Insurrection at Sparta—Expedition to Egypt—Struggles in Greece—Embellishment of Athens—Athenian Character.

ABOUT this period an earthquake occurred at Sparta, and was attended with serious consequences (464 B. C.). Nearly the whole city was destroyed, and 20,000 men perished in the catastrophe. The Helots² and the Messenians, who had long been the victims of Spartan oppression, seized upon

¹ *Plut.* Pericl. 37.

² Another consequence of the progressive diminution of the male citizens by continual warfare (*Clinton's Fasti*, ii. 407), was danger from the Helots, which increased in proportion to the attempts made to debase them and diminish their number, by every means that craft and violence could suggest. Extermination *en masse* was naturally had recourse to only in extreme cases; but numbers were yearly despatched in the petty warfare, through which the *σπάρτια* sank from its original design, of training the Spartan youth to military operations, to a system of assassination.—*Hermann*, p. 92.

this as a favourable opportunity for effecting their own liberation. They armed themselves and marched immediately for Sparta; but the insurrection was defeated by the activity of the king, Archidamus. Fearing, at the time of the earthquake, that such an insurrection might take place, he ordered the trumpet to sound as if an enemy was near. The citizens, ever accustomed to the most rigid obedience, assembled in the forum, and ranged themselves in order of battle. The insurrectionists immediately retreated to Ithome, whose strong walls secured them protection, and enabled them to infest the Lacedæmonian territories for many years. This revolt has been termed the third Messenian war.

In this necessity, the Spartans, unacquainted with the art of sieges, applied to the Athenians for succour. After some discussion, an army was despatched under the command of Cimon; but the mutual hatred of the two races rendered all his good intentions ineffectual. The siege of Ithome became protracted,¹ and the Spartans, being jealous lest the Athenians should come to a good understanding with the Helots and Messenians, got rid of the former upon the plea that they themselves and their allies would be amply sufficient to carry on the blockade.

The Athenians, naturally indignant at such treatment, especially as the other allies had been retained, broke off the treaty² that had been concluded with the Spartans during the Persian war. Pericles, perceiving this to be a favourable moment for attack, succeeded in banishing Cimon by Ostracism (461 B. C.). The Messenians, supported by the inhabitants of Pisa,³ sustained a blockade of ten years

¹ Here, as on other occasions, the Spartans displayed their incompetency in sieges, ὥστε οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι τεύχομαχίειν.—Her. ix. 70. Compare Thuc. i. 102.

² Thucyd. i. 103.

³ This arose from a quarrel of long standing. The Pisatians had contended with Elis about the right of superintending the Olympic games; but the Eleans prevailed through the assistance of Sparta. The booty obtained in this warfare (for Pisa was plundered and de-

in Ithome; and the Spartans, at last, agreeably to a Delphic oracle, permitted them to depart with their wives and children (455 B. C.). The Athenians, on the other hand, assigned Naupactus to the exiles, which they had just before taken from the Locri Ozolæ. During the Peloponnesian war, Naupactus steadily adhered to the cause of its benefactors, and formed one of the chief bulwarks to the Athenians in the western seas. The Argives, availing themselves of the exhaustion of Sparta, took and destroyed Mycenæ, which had thrown off the yoke of Argos, and had induced Sicyon, Naupliæa, Heliæa, and other towns to join the standard of rebellion.

Athens, on her side, was engaged in an undertaking against Persia. Soon after the accession of Artaxerxes, surnamed *Longimanus* or long-handed, Egypt broke out into rebellion under the standard of Inarus, a Libyan chief; and the Athenians, on the earnest solicitation of an embassy, supported the defection with 200 triremes that had been destined for Cyprus (462 B. C.). At first, everything promised a favourable issue, the myriads of Persia were vanquished by the Grecian auxiliaries; and the city of Memphis was reduced, with the exception of its Acropolis.

At home, Athens was also occupied with the siege of Ægina, whose inhabitants were chagrined at the loss of their dominion over the Saronic Gulph. The Corinthians, imagining this to be a favourable opportunity, invaded the territory of Megara. But the resources of Athens were not yet exhausted. Without raising the siege of Ægina, a new army was despatched; and its leader, Myronides, by a favourable battle disappointed the views of the enemy (458 B. C.). Ægina was compelled to surrender to the Athenians, and was subjected to the payment of a yearly tribute (457 B. C.).

Enriched) enabled the Eleans to enlarge and beautify the temple of Olympian Jupiter, and to erect that memorable statue, "the majestic creation of Phidias."

This success, however, was counterbalanced by the unfortunate issue of the Egyptian expedition. The Greeks were not only expelled from Memphis (456 B. C.), but compelled to evacuate Prosopitis, a small island of the Nile, along which they had anchored their ships. Megabyzus, the Persian general, by diverting the course of the river, left them on dry land; but the Greeks, whose courage never forsook them in emergencies, set fire to their ships, and exhibited such resolution, that the Persians granted them a capitulation, and allowed them to retire in safety. A few made their way through Libya to Cyrene, a Grecian colony—the greater part perishing from fatigue or disease, in the inhospitable deserts of Africa. To complete the disaster, a reinforcement of sixty ships, which the Athenians had sent to Egypt, was destroyed by the Phœnicians.

About the same time, a quarrel between Doris and Phocis again brought the Spartans and Athenians into hostile contact. The Athenians, as friends of the Phocians, took possession of the Crissæan Gulph, and guarded Mount Geraneia at the Isthmus, in order to prevent the return of the Spartans from their expedition against Phocis. Thespiæ, Platææ, and other subordinate cities of Bœotia, who were disgusted at the treachery of the Thebans during the Persian wars, had successively rejected the sovereignty of Thebes. The Spartans, who were now compelled to stay in Bœotia, and being desirous of re-establishing Thebes in order to oppose the growing pretensions of Athens, assisted her in regaining her supremacy over the Bœotian cities.¹

¹ The inactivity with which the Spartans had looked upon the growing power of Athens, may be ascribed partly to their natural caution (*Thuc.* i. 118). and partly to the disturbances in the Peloponnesus. They now sent troops, under pretext of reinforcing the parent state of Doris, but in reality to create a counterpoise to Athens, by re-establishing the sovereignty of Thebes, of which it had been deprived for its conduct during the Persian war (p. 161). What means the oligarchical party, even at this period, considered lawful, is shown by the murder of Ephialtes, who had, it is true, annihilated the political influence of the Areopægus, (p. 192), but is represented to have been, on the whole, a second Aristides. Compare *Hermann*, p. 333.

At the same time, the enemies of democracy at Athens entered into secret negotiations with the Spartans, to overthrow it, and obstruct the building of the Long Walls.¹

An Athenian army, 15,000 strong, under the conduct of Myronides, entered Bœotia to protect its independence, and delivered battle at Tanagra (457 B. C.). The exiled Cimon could not take part in this engagement; but he conjured his friends, who, like himself, laboured under suspicion of being attached to Sparta, to efface these suspicions by their superior bravery. Animated by this exhortation, they fought with so much valour that they all perished; but the Athenians lost the battle by the treachery of the Thessalians. This defeat, however, was repaired a few weeks afterwards, by a complete victory over the Thebans at Œenophyta, in the plain of Tanagra, and the destruction of Gythium, the naval arsenal of the Lacedæmonians. Thebes never recovered its ascendancy over the Bœotian cities until eighty years afterwards, when she emerged into sudden splendour, under the conduct of Epaminondas.

In the mean time the Long Walls were completed, so that the city was now perfectly secure against any attack from without. Pericles brought forward a motion, in an assembly of the people, for the recall of Cimon, which he carried (456). Cimon, on his return, endeavoured to effect a reconciliation between Sparta and Athens. Negotiations were carried on for the space of three years, before the two states could be brought to terms of agreement, and then only for a five years' truce (450 B. C.) In order to establish peace upon a sure basis, Cimon, who was ever desirous of turning the energies of the Greeks against the common enemy, proceeded, with three hundred triremes under his command, to the isle of Cyprus, and took Malos and Citium. Having defeated the Persian fleet which was coming to the relief of the island, he then laid siege to Salamis.² Here he died

¹ *Thuc.* i. 107. Compare *Plut. Cim.* xvii. ² A town of Cyprus.

(449 B. C.), in consequence of a wound received at Citium, and as the Athenians began to experience a scarcity of provisions, they raised the siege. With the death of Cimon, the attacks upon the Persian empire ceased for some time; but the discord and jealousy of the Grecian states again revived.

After the death of Cimon, Pericles stood without a rival in Athens, and swayed the popular assembly according to his pleasure, by the energy of his mind, and the power of his eloquence. He uniformly rejected the rhetorical artifices of the demagogues; he never stooped to flatter the multitude; he always assumed a dignified demeanour, and transacted less important matters by means of less important instruments, reserving himself for great occasions. He was the first of his countrymen who, before pronouncing his discourses, committed them to writing; and his speeches being thus polished by repeated touches of the correcting art, acquired the epithet of Olympian, to express that permanent and steady lustre which they reflected.¹ He was elevated far above all sordid selfishness; for during his administration, he did not increase his private fortune by the amount of a single drachma. As a commander he united consummate prudence to undaunted courage, and he never failed to respect the free citizen, the Greek, and the Athenian, who fought under his command.² ●

The military supremacy of Athens had now rendered her supremacy in works of art possible. The common treasury of the allies had been removed from Delos to Athens; and Pericles thought that he could be called to no further

¹ *Plut. in Peric. Gillies, c. xii.* It is said that Pericles, in figure, voice, and countenance, strongly resembled the tyrant Pisistratus; and that prejudice, arising against him from this circumstance, induced him the more zealously to counteract it, by advocating the cause of the democracy. In reference to his establishing pay for the soldiery and the dicasts, Plato, in his *Gorgias* (p. 515), complains that he had rendered the Athenians "idle, and cowardly, and talkative, and fond of money."

² *Plut. Apotheg. vi. 706. Qu. Sympos. viii. 453.*

account about the application of these contributions, provided the allies were protected against the barbarians; and the amount of the contributions was raised to six hundred talents. Athens was therefore entitled to a pre-eminence in Greece, as well as a legal dominion over the distant colonies and confederates. The patronage of the state, and the highly cultivated taste of the public, administered a striking impetus to the progress of the fine arts; and in the space of a few years were erected those innumerable temples, theatres, statues, altars, baths, gymnasia, porticoes, which, in the language of ancient panegyric, rendered Athens the eye and light of Greece.¹

By these undertakings, sources of employment were opened for the poor, and a high degree of mechanical skill was diffused among the artisans now in requisition. The taste for the beautiful did not extend merely to works of art; the products of Athenian industry were sought after in every country visited by her ships. Surrounded almost by the sea, Athens soon became the centre of a flourishing and extensive commerce. She now combined within herself every element of human civilization. A republic, hitherto inferior in works of invention and genius to several of her neighbours, and even of her own colonies, produced in the single lifetime of Pericles, those inestimable models of poetry, eloquence, and philosophy, which, in every succeeding age, the enlightened portion of mankind have invariably regarded as the best standards not merely of composition and style, but of taste and reason.² "Who," says Xenophon, "stands not in need of Athens? Do not all countries which are rich in grain and herds, in oil and wine? Do not all, who are able to turn to account either their intellect or their money? Artists, Sophists, Philosophers,

¹ *Isocrat. et Aristid. in Panegyri.* According to the prevailing idea among the Greeks, art could not be applied to the gratification of individual luxury and vanity. *Plut. Aristid.* xxiv.; comp. *Thuc.* ii. 13. The architectural decorations, belonging to the age of Pericles, have been already mentioned.—*Geog.* Ch. IV.

² *Gillies*, c. 12.

Poets,—those who desire to hear and see things worthy to be heard and seen—those who wish to buy and sell with rapidity; where can they gratify all these wishes more easily than at Athens?"¹

Amidst all the defects, therefore, of Athenian government, the question may well be asked, "What city ever effected greater things than Athens?" Not even Rome herself, if we turn away from her mournful triumphs. But when we compare the means, the impediments, the amount of population—the superiority of Athens must be still more striking. The true sources of Athenian greatness must therefore be sought where one of her own immortal historians has indicated—in the superior freedom of her institutions, so pre-eminently adapted to develop the energies of the human mind. "It is our distinction," says Pericles, "to make the boldest attempts, and to deliberate upon what we are about to engage in; whereas with others, ignorance inspires courage, and deliberation makes them falter. Those must surely be possessed of the greatest souls, who, well knowing the terrors and the gratifications of life, shrink not from danger."² History

¹ Ἐπεισέρχεται δὲ διὰ μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως ἐκ πάσης γῆς τὰ πάντα κ.τ.λ. *Thucyd.* ii. 38. The orator Pericles, in the oration here alluded to, satirizes Sparta, by dwelling upon the distinctive traits of the Athenian character. "The Athenians are not governed by an oligarchy; political power is accessible to all, and merit is the only passport. They do not inflict upon each other painful, but useless austerities; and they have provided the necessary relaxations for the mind, by means of games, sacrifices, &c. Athens, too, is a city free to the world (κοινὴ πόλις), and no man is excluded from seeing or learning any thing, because he is a stranger (see p. 127). Our education and discipline are not so severe as those of our neighbours; we lay claim to a reasonable indulgence, yet we can endure labour when duty calls us, and cope with the enemy in the field."

² *Thuc.* ii. 40... "The Athenians deem inactive rest," observe the Corinthians, "a greater grievance than toilsome occupation. Therefore should any one sum up their character, by saying that they were born never to be at rest themselves, nor to suffer others to be so, he would speak the truth." *Thuc.* i. 70.

Excitability of temperament is generally associated with great mobility of imagination; hence the Athenians were irascible (ὀργίλοι, *Schol.*

presents no parallel to the combination of intelligence and force in the Athenian character—their certainty in conception and performance—their simplicity of life amidst the eager pursuits of commerce—their delicate perception of the beautiful—and their perfection in the productions of art, amidst unprecedented efforts to subdue the roughest of elements, constant service in arms, and incessant sacrifices for the good of the commonwealth.¹

CHAPTER XIV.

HISTORY OF GREECE TILL THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

Struggles in Greece—Defection and Reduction of Eubœa—Truce between Athens and Sparta—Reduction of Samos—Athenian Empire—Designs of Pericles—The Peloponnesian War.

ATHENS was, at this period, occupied in various contests, for the purpose of preserving its allies, and defending itself from the jealousy of Sparta. Upon a dispute arising between the Delphians and the Phocians, as to who should have the care of the temple and its treasures (448 B.C.), the Spartans declared in favour of the former, and Pericles was equally active in supporting the latter. The presidency of the Delphic sanctuary, and the privilege of *promanty* or first consulting the oracle, were the real objects of Spartan ambition—objects which it was desirable to attain as a counterpoise to the high priesthood of Athens at the great festive assembly of Delos. Pericles marched to Delphi,

Aristoph. Pac. 605), yet easily affected with pity. Phrynichus was fined because he had given a dramatic representation of the destruction of Miletus, a city in alliance with Athens, and had thereby grieved the hearts of the Athenians.—*Her.* vi. 21. ¹ *Wachsmuth*, ii. 34-36.

and appointed the Phocians presidents; and the right of *promanty* was of course appropriated by Athens.

That the Athenians had lost all influence in Bœotia by an unlucky expedition, was not the fault of Pericles, who had given his advice against it; but of Tolmides, who belonged to the opposite party. Oligarchical fugitives had assembled in great numbers at Orchomenus, where they were joined by Locrians, Eubœans, and others who maintained similar sentiments.¹ An army, composed of the flower of the Athenian troops, was defeated at Coronea, and Tolmides himself perished. (447 B. C). The democracy of Bœotia fell with the Athenian ascendancy; and oligarchy appears to have been established in Phocis about the same period.

The unfavourable issue of this expedition served for a while to diminish the dread of the Athenian power among its neighbours; and soon afterwards Eubœa fell off from its allegiance. Pericles set sail to reduce it; but before he could land his troops, he was recalled on account of a revolution in Megara, effected by the oligarchical party. (446 B. C.) At the same time, too, the five years' truce with Sparta had expired; and the Spartans invaded the Athenian territory. (445 B. C). The return of the Spartans was effected by bribery; and Pericles afterwards introduced into his financial statement, an item of ten talents for "necessary expenses," which was passed without further investigation. Pericles now effected the reduction of Eubœa, and established a democracy, being convinced that a similarity of government was the strongest bond of connection betwixt the ruling state, and those that were its subjects.

In spite of all these mutual jealousies and hostilities, a general desire for the preservation of peace prevailed both at Athens and Sparta; and a thirty years' truce² was

¹ Thuc. ii. 113.

² Σπονδαὶ τριακονταετής.—Thuc.

accordingly entered into. Pericles must have felt very sensibly the necessity of maintaining peace, at least for the present; for it cost Athens a great sacrifice. Megara, Pagæ, Achaia (in Megaris?), and Troezen, were to be given up at once; and the treaty probably stipulated that the resignation of Bœotia and Megara should be carried into effect. On these terms, Lacedæmon and Athens guaranteed to each other their respective supremacies;¹ but the proviso that neutral states might join either party,² laid the sure foundation for new dissensions. Hence the remark of Thucydides, that Corcyra had been in alliance neither with Sparta nor Athens, deserves particular attention³ (p. 210).

After the conclusion of the peace, Samos attracted the attention of Pericles. This powerful island was involved in a war with Miletus; and Athens took the part of the latter. Pericles appeared with a fleet under his command; the Samians were obliged to renounce their oligarchical form of government, and to deliver up hostages. According to the views of Pericles, the subjugation of Samos completed the maritime ascendancy of Athens; and the establishment of the democracy was intended to guarantee the continuance of the Athenian power.

On the return of the Athenians, the aristocratic party again obtained the ascendancy; and Byzantium joined in the revolt. Pericles returned with great haste, and defeated the Samian fleet, though superior to his own in point of numbers. Samos was now invested both by land and sea; and, after a blockade of eight months' duration, Pericles compelled the inhabitants to accept the most humiliating conditions. They were obliged to demolish their walls, deliver up their ships, give hostages, and pay down 200 talents to defray the expences of the war. Upon his return, Pericles delivered an oration in honour of those who had fallen at Samos; and the women, when he descended from

¹ *Ἡγεμονίαι.*

² *Thuc. i. 35.*

³ *Thuc. i. 31.*

the *bēma* (tribune), crowned him with flowers and fillets, like a victor at the Olympic games. But Elpenice, Cimon's sister, addressed him in the spirit of her brother: "Do *you* merit so much praise, who deprive us of so many and such valuable citizens, not in struggles against the Phœnicians and Persians, but in the subjugation of kindred and friendly states" (440 B.C.)!

Athens now formed the centre of a territory which the ancients have denominated a kingdom. In that narrow space of time that intervened between the battles of Mycale and Plataeæ, and the memorable war of Peloponnesus, Athens had established her authority over the extent of a thousand miles of the Asiatic coast, from Cyprus to the Thracian Bosphorus—taken possession of forty intermediate islands, together with the important straits which join the Euxine and the Ægean; conquered and colonized the winding shores of Thrace and Macedon; commanded the coast of the Euxine from Pontus to the Chersonesus Taurica; and overawing the barbarous natives by the experienced terrors of her fleet, at the same time rendered subservient to her own interests, the colonies which Miletus and other Greek cities of Asia had established in those remote regions. Thus the Athenian galleys commanded the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean; their merchantmen had engrossed the traffic of the adjacent countries; the magazines of Athens abounded with wood, metal, ebony, ivory, and all the materials of the useful as well as the agreeable arts; they imported the luxuries of Italy, Sicily, Cyprus, Lydia, Pontus, and the Peloponnesus.¹

But Pericles wished to place his native city at the head of a still greater confederation. He made a proposition that every Greek city in Asia and Europe, whether small or great, should send a deputy to Athens in order to consult about the restoration of all temples destroyed by the Persians—the performance of those vows which the Greeks

¹ Gillies, c. xii, xiii.

had made during the Persian wars; and respecting the affairs of the sea, in order that all might navigate it with security, and be enabled to live in peace. But these speculations, characteristic as they are of the benevolent policy of Pericles, never ripened to maturity; and the cool reception of the Athenian ambassadors at Sparta, induced him to exclaim that, "he beheld war advancing with wide and rapid steps from the Peloponnesus."¹ Whilst the Athenians were ever thirsting after change and progression, the Lacedæmonians attached themselves still more closely to the established order of things; and this conflict of principles² ultimately produced a war which marks out to the eye of the historian one of the most important epochs in Grecian history. The collisions between the two leading powers and their confederates had divided the whole of Greece into two conflicting portions; and states hitherto neutral, were compelled to declare which of the leaders they would follow.

The real causes of this memorable war have been sufficiently manifested in the course of the preceding history. These were the growing power of Athens³—the disaffection of the allies and the increasing jealousy of Sparta. Events hastened the rupture; Athens unfortunately interfered with the colonial disputes of Corinth (432 B.C.), and then came the "Doric war and a plague with it."⁴ "By this war," says Thucydides, "all Greece was set in motion; for, on all sides, dissension prevailed between the popular party and the higher order. The former desired to call in the Athenians, the latter the Lacedæmonians."⁵ The cities were shaken

¹ *Plut. in Pericl.*

² *Thucyd.* iii. 82.

³ "This," says Thucydides (i. 23), "was the *real* reason;" he then proceeds to state the alleged reasons.

⁴ "Ἡξεί Δωριακὸς πόλεμος καὶ λοιμὸς ἡμ' αὐτῶ, came to the recollection of the Athenians during the plague, as the words of an ancient oracle. It was contended by some that the ancients did not read λοιμὸς, *pestilence*, but λιμὸς, *famine*; present circumstances, however, decided in favour of the latter.—*Thucyd.* ii. 54.

⁵ Hence the mortification of the Athenians at their discomfiture in Sicily, because, contrary to custom, the Syracusan Demus had fought

by sedition, and where this broke out at a less early period, the attempt was made to commit greater excesses than any which had elsewhere taken place. Even the significations of words were changed. Mad rashness was called disinterested courage; prudent delay was styled timidity. Whoever was violent was held worthy of confidence; whoever opposed him was suspected. The crafty was called intelligent; the more crafty still more intelligent. In short, praise was given to him who anticipated another in injustice, and to him who encouraged to crime one who had never thought of it."¹ Constitutions, established by violence, could expect no permanency; the popular and the oligarchic parties were equally fanatical and unscrupulous; and there was no third element to appease and reconcile them.² Thus foreign war was everywhere combined with domestic sedition; and Athens was ultimately precipitated from her pre-eminent position as arbiter of Greece, to the degradation of accepting thirty tyrants from Sparta.

The relentless destiny of the Greeks in this unhallowed war seemed to reveal itself in the natural phenomena of the time. Earthquakes were felt every year during its continuance; Ætna cast forth fire; eclipses terrified the people; drought, famine, and the plague³ swept away multitudes of the best and bravest of the citizens. But the terrors of nature were less dreadful than the passions of men; covetousness and revenge, hatred and rage, sordid avarice and bloodstained cruelty vied with each other in the

against them.—*Thucyd.* vii. 55. But we must not forget, that Sparta, on the other hand, conciliated the popular sympathy by proclaiming independence for all.—*Thucyd.* ii. 8, 72; iv. 85. It may be remarked generally, that the two leading states, in declaring their resolution to support certain political principles, were actuated by the design of strengthening, securing, and extending their respective hegemonies.—*Arist. Pol.* 5. 6. 9. Compare *Wachsmuth*, vol. ii. p. 186.

¹ *Thuc.* iii. 82.

² *Arist. Pol.* 4. 9. 11.

³ See *Thucyd.* i. 23; ii. 8; 28, 48, seqq; iii. 89, 116; iv. 52; v. 50; vi. 95. *Diod.* xii. 50.

working havoc and destruction. Towns were levelled with the ground; the vanquished and defenceless were remorselessly butchered; and all that the nation had been used to regard with veneration was abandoned to profanation and insult. The inviolability of heralds and sanctuaries, and the custom of granting quarter to and exchanging prisoners, which had hitherto been observed amidst all their political vicissitudes, were utterly disregarded in the rage and exasperation that prevailed.¹ Fearful proofs of this will be seen in the fate of Plataeæ, Ægina, Melos, the Athenian prisoners in Sicily, and after the battle of Ægos Potamos. The two parties pursued each other with a ferocity which nothing short of actual extermination could assuage. Hence the decree of the Samian Demus, forbidding its members to intermarry with those of the wealthier order;² that of the same class in Corcyra, excluding the oligarchs from all honours and dignities;³ the proposal of the Demus of Leontini to make a distribution of the lands,⁴ and the fearful oath of the oligarchs of a Grecian state to work the Demus all the mischief in their power.⁵

CHAPTER XV.

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

Corcyra and Corinth—Corinth, Athens, and Sparta—Resources of the two leading States—Invasion of Attica—Advantages gained by the Athenians.

THE immediate or proximate cause of the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war was afforded by Epidamnus—a colony of the Corcyræans on the Illyrian coast. Here the

¹ *Wachsmuth*, vol. ii. p. 181, 182.

² *Thuc.* viii. 20.

³ *Thuc.* iii. 70.

⁴ *Thuc.* v. 4.

⁵ *Arist. Pol.* 5. 7, 19.

people had expelled the *Optimates* or aristocratic party; but the exiles, uniting with the neighbouring barbarians, reduced the popular party to great extremities. The latter, after having in vain respectfully called upon the Corcyræans, their natural protectors, for assistance, addressed their solicitations to Corinth, the mother-country of Corcyra. An inveterate enmity already existed between Corinth and Corcyra; for the Corcyræans had refused to pay to Corinth the usual marks of respect exacted from colonies—such as precedence at the public festivals, accepting a Corinthian high-priest to preside over their religion, and a Corinthian leader when they established new settlements. The Corinthians, desirous of avenging their own quarrel, and eager to detach Epidamnus from the interest of Corcyra, immediately despatched an armament of 75 sail¹ to Epidamnus; but the Corcyræans, considering their rights to be violated by this interference, attacked the Corinthian fleet with impetuosity, defeated it, and reduced the city (435 B. C.).

The Corinthians now made great preparations for the continuation of the war. The Corcyræans, on the other hand, prosecuted their advantages by chastising the allies of the Corinthians, and set fire to Cyllene, a harbour belonging to the Eleans, because they had supplied Corinth with a few galleys. This outrage highly incensed the southern states of Greece; and the Corcyræans, fully aware of the impending storm, applied to the Athenians for assistance. Confronted with the Corinthian ambassadors who had come on a similar mission, the ambassadors of Corcyra stated that they had been alienated from Corinth by oppression—that the states of the Peloponnesus were equally hostile to Corcyra and Athens—that Athens, if desirous of

¹ Public assistance was accorded by Megara, Thebes, and several states of the Peloponnesus; many adventurers also took part in the expedition, induced by the promise of immunities and honours at Epidamnus in case of success.

self-preservation, ought to prevent the fleet of Corcyra from falling a prey to that confederacy; that Corcyra was admirably situated for intercepting the supplies which Sicilian and Italian colonies would send in the approaching war to their Doric ancestors of the Peloponnesus; and, moreover, that they were fully justified in making this application, by the last general treaty of peace, which left any state, not previously bound to follow the standard of Athens or Sparta, at liberty to join either party. Under the influence of these arguments, and a thorough conviction that no permanent friendship could be expected from Corinth, a defensive alliance was concluded by Athens with Corcyra; and ten ships were despatched to its assistance. The Corcyraeans were defeated, after an obstinate resistance; and the Athenian squadron, which had abstained from taking part in the battle, prevented their total destruction (432 B. C.).

Matters soon became more complicated. Corinth, sensible that Athens was vulnerable only in her dependencies, laboured to seduce the subject-allies of the latter on the Chalcidian peninsula from their allegiance. Potidæa, a colony of Corinth, yet now a tributary confederate of Athens, fell off from its allegiance—orders having been transmitted from Athens that it should demolish the wall which guarded it on the side of Pallene, and give hostages for its fidelity. A fleet of 30 sail was despatched by the Athenians, to chastise the Potidæans, who, on the other hand, sent an illusive embassy to Athens, in order to gain time for a Peloponnesian army 2,000 strong to be sent to their aid. The Potidæans, thus reinforced, set their enemies at defiance; but the Athenians, having equipped a new fleet of 40 sail, united the two squadrons, and laid siege to the city (432 B. C.).

The Corinthians, indignant at the idea of their citizens being blockaded, now laboured to render their war with Athens the common cause of the Peloponnesians; and they endeavoured to shew in a meeting of the Dorian confeder-

ation at Sparta, that Athens, by supporting the revolt of Corcyra and besieging Potidæa, had broken the peace, and that her ambition, owing to the supineness of Sparta, would be ultimately fatal to the freedom of Greece. The Megareans also complained that they had been excluded by a recent decree from the ports and markets of Attica; and the inhabitants of Ægina lamented the state of servitude to which they had been reduced by the Athenians. Sparta herself, notwithstanding the council of king Archidamus, lent a ready ear to the warlike views of the confederacy; and then negotiations were commenced, assuming, indeed, a desire for peace which no longer existed.

In successive embassies, the Lacedæmonians demanded¹ from Athens the expulsion of the Alcæonidæ,² who were hereditarily polluted with the blood of Cylon's adherents—that it should raise the siege of Potidæa; that it should rescind the decree of “non-intercourse” against the inhabitants of Megara,³ withdraw its garrisons from Ægina, and that all its subject-cities and colonies should be declared independent. The Athenians met these with similar requisitions, and replied that, “though they would never yield to demands, they had no objection to submit the complaints in question to an equitable decision.” Pericles fairly represented to the Athenians that the greatness of Athens, and not the decree against Megara, was the real cause of that hostile jealousy which animated the Spartans and their

¹ *Thucyd.* i. 68, 139.

² Pericles belonged to this family.

³ The Megareans had been accused of ploughing some consecrated lands, harbouring Athenian slaves, exiles, &c. But the enemies of Pericles ascribed the decree of non-intercourse to some personal insult which his mistress, Aspasia, had received from the Megareans. In this popular excitement, Pericles himself was accused of embezzling the public money; but it was shewn beyond dispute that his private fortune was adequate to his scale of expenditure. His friend, Anaxagoras the philosopher, however, was banished, because he “propagated doctrines inconsistent with the established religion;” as well as Phidias the sculptor, on the charge of having represented himself and his patron Pericles on the shield of his celebrated statue of Minerva.

confederates; that Athens was impregnable by land; that 6,000 talents were accumulated in the treasury; that the devastation of Attica would be of little consequence to a people who could everywhere command supplies from a thousand tributary republics by their sovereignty of the seas.

Hereupon all further negotiations were broken off. In the spring of the year (431 B.C.) a party of Thebans came secretly to Platææ a city incorporated with Athens, where they were admitted by Naucrides, the perfidious leader of the oligarchic faction.¹ After the first alarm had ceased, they were again expelled, and 180 Theban prisoners were put to death, though the Platæans had induced a Theban reinforcement to retire from their territory, by a promise that they would thereby deliver their fellow citizens from captivity. The thirty years' truce was evidently broken; and Greece was now divided into two great parties, headed by Sparta and Athens, both furnished with ample, though dissimilar resources, and both inspired with the confident expectation of a glorious victory. Greece was, at this period, filled with youthful and ardent spirits panting for military excitement; oracles were everywhere circulated and listened to in reference to the impending storm. Delos was shaken by an earthquake—a circumstance which had never previously taken place within the memory of the Greeks, and was therefore considered ominous of the political convulsions about to follow.

In addition to the Peloponnesus, which stood wholly on the side of Sparta, with the exception of Argos and most of the cities of Achaia which remained neutral,² she had also important allies in the rest of Greece. Bœotia, Locris, and Phocis, supplied her deficiency in cavalry; Megara,

¹ *Thucyd.* ii. 2, seqq.; iii. 23, 52, seqq. Platææ was the only city of Bœotia which had sided against the Persians during the invasion. It was subsequently incorporated with Athens, to whom it ever maintained the strictest fidelity; hence the jealousy of Thebes.

² Argos was jealous of the pre-eminence of Sparta; Achaia was distinguished by its moderation.

Corinth, Sicyon, Elis, Pallene, the Ambraciotes and Leucadians supplied her deficiency in ships.¹ The war was proclaimed by the Spartan confederacy to be in behalf of the liberties of Greece.² Athens, indeed, had but few allies: Thessaly, with its valuable cavalry, Acarnania, along with the islands of Corcyra and Zacynthus, Chios and Lesbos.³ But the two last islands formed points of transition to a multitude of subject islands and cities, from which Athens could constantly derive fresh supplies, both of men and money, as long as she maintained her dominion of the sea. Athens had also collected, under the administration of Pericles, a treasure amounting to 6,000 talents. Her navy consisted of 300 triremes, manned by 50,000 sailors; and her army of 29,000 hoplites, without including 16,000 men employed as garrison troops; 1600 archers, and 1200 horsemen. Though Athens was not situated on an island, yet the fortifications of the city and harbour, connected as they were by the Long Walls, secured to her advantages approaching very nearly to those of an insular situation.

Immediately after the attack upon Plataeæ, Sparta called upon the confederates to assemble on the Isthmus of Corinth; and from that point, Archidamus, the king, at the head of 60,000 men, commenced his invasion of Attica. Agreeably to the proposal of Pericles, the inhabitants of the country, having desolated their fields and gardens, brought their wives, children, and moveable property to Athens, and sent their cattle over to the neighbouring isles. It may be remarked, that the abandonment of rustic pursuits⁴ on the part of the peasantry, and the disproportionate increase of the town-population, was followed by a general corruption of morals; the gymnastic art, one of the most important branches of public education, and the stricter habits which it engendered, became equally antiquated and ridiculous.

¹ *Thucyd.* i. 125.² *Thucyd.* ii. 8. Compare iv. 85, 108.³ *Thucyd.* ii. 9, 22.⁴ *Thucyd.* ii. 14, 16.

The city was thus converted into a vast camp; yet the people bore up against every inconvenience as long as the enemy was at a distance. But when Archidamus had arrived within sixty stadia of the city, and ravaged the surrounding country, the people began to inveigh against Pericles as the original cause of all this devastation; while the more courageous complained of his timid policy, and demanded to be led out against the enemy. Pericles, however, knew well how to repress the indignation of the people; he employed the Athenian and Thessalian cavalry to intercept the supplies of the enemy, and cut off their advanced parties; and, on the other hand, Archidamus, who could no longer maintain himself in a ravaged country, returned back to the Peloponnesus. (430 B. C.)

Meanwhile, the Athenians had fitted out a fleet which cruised round the Peloponnesus—avenged the devastation of their own country by committing similar ravages, and then gained the isle of Cephallenia, without striking a blow. Sitalces, a powerful ruler in Thrace, and Perdiccas, king of Macedonia, entered into a treaty of alliance with Athens. The defection of Ægina was anticipated, and the inhabitants were expelled;¹ the island was forthwith occupied by Athenian colonists. By this means, the pressure of a redundant population was relieved, at the same time that a strong and secure point was obtained near the Peloponnesus. Finally, Pericles led an army, after the retreat of the Spartans, into Megara, in order to retaliate upon it for the wasting of Attica. During the winter, the Athenians celebrated the memory of the fallen, who were buried in the public cemetery of the Ceramicus, the most beautiful suburb of the city; and Pericles was selected, in conformity with Athenian custom, to pronounce their panegyric.²

¹ The Spartans made over to the Æginetæ the maritime district of Thyrea, which lay on the frontier of the Argive and Lacedæmonian territories, and was long an object of contention to the two republics.

² *Thucyd.* ii. 35 seqq. This funeral oration requires no eulogium.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

*The Plague at Athens—Death of Pericles—Reduction of Lesbos—
Capture of Platææ.*

IN the following spring, Archidamus again invaded Attica at the head of the Peloponnesians. This time he was leagued with a still more formidable enemy—the *plague*. Thucydides states that, according to common report, it first commenced in Ethiopia, then spread through Egypt, Libya, and a considerable portion of the Persian empire, and finally visited Athens. Here, owing to the heat of the summer, and the density of the population, it raged with extreme virulence. It broke out first in the Piræus,¹ and thus gave rise to the rumour that the Peloponnesians had poisoned the wells in that quarter. The historian, Thucydides, who was afflicted with it himself, and witnessed it in numerous instances, appeals to his own observation and experience, in describing its effects, whether physical or moral.² (429 B. C.)

The malady commenced with a burning heat in the head, inflammation of the eyes, while the tongue and mouth had the colour of blood. From thence it descended to the breast—the body was covered with ulcers—the internal heat was so violent that multitudes were every where crawling about the fountains in order to quench their thirst. When the bowels were attacked, the individual generally perished of debility; but the danger vanished if the course of the malady was directed to the extremities. The judgment, as

¹ As it commenced in this quarter of the city, there can be little doubt that it was imported from the East by merchantmen, or by ships of war. Thucydides observes, that the season had been remarkably healthy.

² *Thucyd.* ii. 47.

well as the memory, was impaired by the disorder; those who recovered were seldom dangerously attacked the second time. Some idea may be formed of the ravages which it committed on human life, from the fate of the besiegers before Potidæa, where, out of four thousand heavy armed men, one thousand and fifty perished within fifty days.¹

Such was the general form of the disease. The skill of physicians was of no avail; what was beneficial to one patient proved injurious to another. The despondency with which the patient was affected was extreme. Those who, through fear, abstained from mixing in the society of their friends and neighbours, perished in solitude; and those who exhibited a generous activity fell victims to the contagion. Funeral piles, erected by one individual, were appropriated by another²—the temples were filled with the dead and dying, and the neighbourhood of the wells and fountains was strewn with the half-dead crawling to quench their thirst. As sacrifices, supplications, and piety appeared to be equally unavailing, they were succeeded by a contempt of religion, and an unbounded profligacy.³ The laws were violated with impunity, and the most secret vices were practised openly and without shame. Men grasped at every thing that could minister to enjoyment, conceiving their lives and their property to be equally transient. No one was inclined to suffer hardships for that which was considered virtuous;

¹ *Thucyd.* ii. 58.

² No slight calamity to the Greek.

³ The same phenomena reappear in similar circumstances. Lingard, in describing the great plague of London, observes, "But if the solitude and stillness of the streets impressed the mind with awe, there was something yet more appalling in the sounds which occasionally burst upon the ear. At one moment were heard the ravings of delirium, or the wail of woe, from the infected dwelling; at another, the merry song or loud and careless laugh from the wassailers at the tavern, or the inmates of the brothel. Men became so familiarized with the form, that they steeled their feelings against the terrors, of death. They waited each for his turn with the resignation of the Christian, or the indifference of the Stoic. Some devoted themselves to the exercises of piety; and others sought relief in the riot of dissipation, or the recklessness of despair."—*Hist. of England.*

but whatever a man found grateful to his taste, or conducive to his interest, he judged to be honourable and profitable.¹

In the mean time, Pericles still adhered to the defensive system; but the devastation, caused by the plague, and the invasion of the Spartans who destroyed the works of the miners on mount Laurium and laid waste the shores of Marathon, excited considerable odium against him. The people ascribed all these multiplied disasters to his counsels. Pericles, however, still insisted on the justice and necessity of the war—that the plague was a disaster which no human prudence could foresee—that their calamities were transitory while the advantages of the war would be permanent; and that it was the glorious distinction of their republic, never to yield to adversity. He was condemned, however, to pay a trifling fine of fifteen talents, and, at the same time, excluded from the administration. The pestilence carried off his best friends, and raged in his own family;² yet, in the midst of all this, he exhibited a mind prepared to suffer with fortitude as well as to act with vigour.

But the Athenians soon perceived that they had excluded the ablest man from the government; and he was again re-elected general. In the mean time the Spartans made every exertion to extend their alliance and connexions. The surrender of Potidæa also followed in the winter of this year. The siege of the city cost the Athenians two thousand talents. These were the last events of the war which Pericles lived to witness, for he also was seized with the plague (429). When he was breathing his last, and the friends around him, supposing him to be dead, were calling to mind the most memorable actions of his life and traits of his character, he raised himself upon his couch, and said,

¹ *Thucyd.* ii. 53.

² Pericles, bowed down by the loss of his legitimate sons, obtained a decree declaring it lawful for the sons born of a foreign woman (νόθοι) to be inscribed in the Phratrias, like those of the full blood.—*Plut. Peric.* 37.

"Friends, you have forgotten the best—no citizen, through my fault, ever put on mourning." In the portrait of this great man, we must not forget that he loved peace. Though he possessed distinguished talent as a general, as is proved by his successful expeditions against Eubœa, the Thracian Chersonese, his victory over the Bœotians and Spartans; yet his heart was full of feeling, and, when he was compelled to fight, he was economical of human blood.¹

After the death of Pericles, who had governed the Athenians by his personal influence,² the administration of the state fluctuated between two opposite principles. The people, whose manifold energies Pericles had called into activity, evinced the same restlessness when his wisdom and experience no longer acted as a check upon their proceedings. Nicias, a man of prudent and estimable but irresolute character,³ stood at the head of the aristocratic party; and Cleon,⁴ daring and active, but devoid of all character, swayed the democratic. In the mean time, the war was carried on at a distance amongst the colonies and allies. In the third year of the war, the naval superiority of Athens, a superiority

¹ During his administration military pay was introduced, as well as the custom of paying *dicasts*, or jurymen.

² "Nominally," says Thucydides, "it was a democracy, but in reality the government of the first man." (*Thuc.* ii. 65). *Princeps consilii publici*.—*Cic. de Or.* i. 50.

³ Aristophanes glances at his dilatoriness. *Av.* 639, *μελλονικῆν Νικίαν modo cunctari*.

⁴ Cleon was the son of a tanner. Aristophanes professes in his *Acharnians* (the object of which was to reconcile the Athenians with the Lacedæmonians) that it was his intention, at some future day, to "cut him into shoe-leather;" and, accordingly, in his *Equites* or *Knights* (*Ἱππεῖς*), published in the following year (425 B. C.), we are presented with a series of humiliating pictures of Cleon, shewing to *Demus*, the personification of the Athenian people, that he is totally unworthy of confidence. In the "Clouds" (l. 557), he again brings the god-detested tanner upon the stage; in the "Wasps" (l. 35, Cf. 1030), he is made to play the part of an all-devouring sea-monster; after his death, his vices are once more chronicled in the "Peace" (l. 648); and lastly, in the "Frogs" (l. 569, 570), he and his compeer Hyperbolus are introduced together in Hades. The "Knights" compelled Cleon to pay a fine of five talents.—*Acharn.* 6, 7, and *Schol.*

ever of a slow and gradual growth, exhibited itself very manifestly under the command of the brave and skilful Phormio. On the other hand, the desire manifested by Lesbos—the largest island in the *Ægean* with the exception of *Eubœa*—to secede from Athens and join the Peloponnesian confederacy, extended the war to the most vulnerable portions of the Athenian kingdom. The Lesbians had long felt that their state of apparent freedom, as voluntary allies of Athens, was no better than real servitude; and that, in a moment of caprice, they, like other allies, might lose the very shadow of freedom, and be reduced to the condition of subjects. Taking advantage, therefore, of the second Peloponnesian invasion, and the plague at Athens, the Lesbians occupied themselves in placing their capital, *Mitylene*, in the best posture of defence. The Athenians received intelligence about the meditated defection, and they put forth all their strength in order to meet the emergency.

Besides the hundred ships that served for the protection of *Attica*, *Eubœa*, and *Salamis*, the Athenians fitted out a hundred more to ravage the coasts of the Peloponnesus, and despatched forty others to Lesbos, in order to invest *Mitylene*.¹ In the following year the Spartans invaded *Attica*, to make a diversion in favour of the Lesbians, and after considerable procrastination sent forty ships to their aid, under the command of *Alcidas*, who wasted his time in prosecuting unimportant objects, until his assistance was of no avail. Scarcity of provisions, and despair of success, at last compelled the Lesbians, who were blockaded by land and sea, to surrender at discretion; and an embassy was despatched to Athens for instructions respecting the treatment of the inhabitants (427 B. C.).

In their indignation against the revolt of the Lesbians in their hour of difficulty, the people assembled and passed a decree, transmitting it on the same day—that all the men

¹ *Thuc.* iii. 35.

should be put to death, and the women and children sold for slaves. The night, however, left room for reflection, and on the next day the natural mildness of the Athenian character returned; they lamented the ungovernable ferocity of their passion, and another assembly was summoned to reconsider the decree. The demagogue, Cleon, who had proposed it on the previous day, inveighed strongly against the fickleness of the Athenians, and insisted that lenity towards such aggravated guilt as that of the Mitylenians, would only stimulate others to throw off the yoke in like manner. Diodotus, who succeeded Cleon, denounced his vulgar prejudices on the ground of expediency. He shewed incontestably that it could never conduce to the interests of Athens to butcher the Mitylenians—that unnecessary severity defeated its own object by engendering sympathy with its victims—that men became familiar with every form of punishment, and would soon prefer braving death in the field of battle, to awaiting it from the executioner. He argued, that such treatment would estrange the affections of all their subjects and confederates, and that the true policy of Athens was to render the condition of their allies as tolerable as possible, and convince them that emancipation was a thing altogether unattainable. The barbarous decree was cancelled by a small majority; and a second ship, manned by expert rowers, under promise of great reward, fortunately arrived in time to prevent the original order being carried into execution. The ringleaders of the insurrection only were put to death. The walls of the city were demolished, the ships delivered up, and all Lesbos, except Methymne, the ancient rival of Mitylene, distributed in portions among Athenian citizens—the Lesbians being only allowed to cultivate their own lands as tenants or occupiers.

About the same time, the unfortunate city of Plataeæ was treated with no less severity by the opposite party, on account of its firm adherence to Athens.¹ The garri-

¹ *Thuc.* ii. 75; iii. 52, seqq.

son altogether consisted of 400 fighting citizens, and 80 Athenians. When Archidamus had exhausted all his means of attack, he converted the siege into a blockade, and drew off the greatest part of his army. As provisions began to fail in the devoted city, two hundred and twenty of the most daring resolved to cut their way through the besiegers, and make their escape. They scaled the two walls which the Lacedæmonians had built round the city, and made good their escape to Athens.¹

Those who were left behind in the city, held out until they were completely exhausted by want. Then the Lacedæmonians proposed a voluntary surrender—assuring them that none but the guilty should be punished, and not even these without a previous trial. This proposition was accepted, and the city surrendered; but now the Spartans, in order to please the Thebans, the implacable enemies of Platææ, gave a different interpretation to the words. Five judges arrived from Sparta; but no other question was asked of the Platæans than whether, during the present war, they had been of any service to the Lacedæmonians and their allies? As they naturally answered in the negative, all the Platæans, to the number of two hundred, along with twenty-five Athenians, were led out, one by one, to execution. Platææ was destroyed in the ninety-third year from the date of her alliance with Athens (427 B. C.).

¹ By a decree passed Ol. 88. 1 (427 B. C.) the Platæans, in return for their attachment and sacrifices, were declared Athenians, divided into phylæ and demi, and made partakers of all the privileges of Athenian citizens; except that of being admitted to the family sacrifices, and to the archonship, for which the law required pure citizenship for three generations (*ἐκ τριγενίας*). This had already been preceded by the *Jus connubii*, and, perhaps, even by Isopolity (*Ps. Demosth. in Neær.* 1377, 1380. *Plat.* 531).—*Wachsmuth*, vol. ii. p. 192.

CHAPTER XV.

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

Revolution at Corcyra—Fortification of Pylus—The Spartans reduced at Sphacteria—Alternations of Fortune—Truce.

IN the fifth year of the war the island of Corcyra was the scene of dreadful atrocities. Twelve hundred Corcyraean prisoners—many of them belonging to the first families—were won over to the interests of Corinth, by the liberal treatment which they experienced, and by artful representations respecting the ambition of Athens, and the injustice with which she treated her allies. Having returned home under the pretence of collecting eight hundred talents for their ransom, they made every effort to detach Corcyra from Athens. A formal war was now carried on between the aristocratic and the democratic factions—the one supported by a Peloponnesian, and the other by an Athenian fleet. Peithias, the leader of the Demus, was charged by the aristocratic party with a design to reduce the island under the dominion of Athens, and was murdered in the senate-house, along with sixty others. After some alternations of good and bad fortune, the Demus at length acquired the ascendancy, and made a dreadful retribution for the atrocities of their opponents.

For the space of seven days they put to death all whom they suspected to be enemies to the democracy. In the necessary confusion of things, many lost their lives through private revenge, whilst debtors imbrued their hands in the blood of their creditors. Death appeared in every shape—fathers killed their own sons—suppliants were dragged from the altars, or slaughtered beside them. This was the first act of that bloody tragedy, which was afterwards so frequently enacted in other cities of Greece. Differences

sprung up every where, the leaders of the popular party wishing to bring in the Athenians, and the aristocratic the Lacedæmonians. "War," says the historian, "which robs us of the necessities to which we have been accustomed, is a rough teacher, and directs the passions of the multitude according to the impulse of the moment. The cruelties that had been practised in one city, were surpassed in another; and those, who were connected with later commotions, appear to have racked their invention for the purpose of outdoing their predecessors in wickedness" (427 B. C.).

The ravages of the war had now extended to a greater distance; and in the fifth year it visited Sicily. Athens came to the aid of the Leontines¹ against the Syracusans, with the expectation of making a permanent conquest of the island, and preventing the exportation of grain to the Peloponnesus. As the Sicilian armament was coasting along the shores of the Peloponnesus, the Messenians from Naulactus (p. 196) were affected with deep regret and indignation when they saw the seats of their ancestors now in decay. Demosthenes entered into their feelings; and a storm having accidentally driven the fleet into the Pylion harbour, the sailors and soldiers, weary of idleness, fortified the place in six days; and Demosthenes was left, with five ships, to guard the new acquisition. As soon as the Spartans were apprised of this measure, the army of invasion was recalled from Attica, and the fleet from Corcyra, to the attack of Demosthenes, who, however, maintained his position gallantly for three days, though with unequal strength, until forty vessels came to his assistance.² The islet of Sphacteria lies at the entrance of the harbour. The Athenians went in on both sides, defeated the enemy's fleet, and shut up many of the Spartans in the island; and

¹ The case of the Leontines was represented at Athens by their fellow-citizen, Gorgias, the celebrated rhetorician.

² The Spartans had posted 420 heavy armed men in this small island (with Helots), forgetting that, if the Athenians became masters of the sea, these troops would be at their mercy.

these, unfortunately, belonged to the noblest and wealthiest families of the republic (425 B. C.).

The Lacedæmonians forthwith concluded a truce with Demosthenes, and delivered into his hands sixty ships as hostages, to be restored when the ambassadors, who were sent to negotiate a peace, should return. The negotiations, however, were unsuccessful, for the Athenians were elated with their good fortune; and under some frivolous pretences,—such as an incursion towards their fortress during the suspension, &c.—they refused to give up the ships. The Spartans, who were shut up in the island, still received supplies; for slaves undertook that service from the promise of liberty, and freemen from the hope of rewards, as well as expert divers, whom the Athenians found it still more difficult to intercept. The Athenians, fearing lest the blockade should be protracted till the winter, sent to inform the people that the island was impregnable—that they themselves were closely besieged in Pylus by the enemy, and were suffering from the scarcity of provisions.

The people now became dispirited, and began to repent that they had rejected the offer of peace. Cleon, at whose advice the offer of peace had been rejected, boldly declared that the generals alone were to blame in the matter. Nicias endeavoured to shield himself from persecution and slander, by resigning the command in favour of Cleon, who had censured so freely the conduct of others. The Athenians, who soon perceived the reluctance of Cleon to be taken at his word, urged him the more earnestly to accept it; for they observed with their usual pleasantry, that “if the enterprise was so easy, it would better suit the extent of his abilities.” Cleon, finding that there was no chance of escape, remained true to his character, and declared that within twenty days he would either bring the Lacedæmonians prisoners to Athens, or perish in the attempt. His impudence excited laughter among the multitude, and sensible people were delighted to think that, however the matter

might turn out, they should be gainers, either by the *capture* of the Spartans, or the *loss* of Cleon.

But this time Cleon justified his boldness. He united himself with Demosthenes, and an accidental fire having disclosed the position of the Spartans, the attack upon the island was conducted with great vigour, though resisted with equal obstinacy. At length the Messenians discovered a route which led to the rear of the enemy. The Spartans, being encompassed on all sides, like their countrymen at Thermopylæ, surrendered at discretion. The Athenians now removed the Messenians from Naupactus to Pylus, in order that the latter might gratify their inveterate animosity, by ravaging Laconia, and co-operating with the oppressed, helots, their ancient kinsmen. The fertile island of Cythera was also reduced by an Athenian fleet and army under Nicias, as well as Nisæa, the principal sea-port of the Megarians, and the city of Thyrea, where the Lacedæmonians had established the *Æginetes*.¹ The Lacedæmonians became quite dispirited and weary of the war. On the other hand, the Athenians were so far elated with their successes, that they punished those generals who had abandoned Sicily, as if it had been in their power to reduce the island, “so strongly,” says Thucydides, “did the Athenians believe at that time, that nothing could withstand them, and that all their enterprises must succeed.”

But the vicissitudes of war soon humbled their pride. An attack upon Megara, and a still more important one upon the Bœotian cities—Chæronæa, Siphæ, Orchomenus—in which the democratic party would also co-operate, miscarried; and at Delium the Athenians suffered a considerable defeat from the Thebans under Pagondas.² At

¹ The *Æginetes* were put to the sword.

² Pagondas had ordered a squadron of horse to ride up after the action had commenced. The Athenians, supposing that a reinforcement had arrived, were thrown into disorder. Each party was about 18,000 strong. After the victory, the Thebans laid siege to Delium, and, by means of a machine, to which was appended a prodigious mass of pitch and sulphur, they threw the whole city into flames.

the same time Perdiccas, king of Macedon, and the Chalcidian cities (Olynthus, &c.) having revolted from the Athenians, induced the Lacedæmonians to send an army, in order to excite the remaining cities to a similar defection. Brasidas, a man every way competent for the undertaking, was appointed general. The inhabitants of Acanthus, induced by the presence of a Spartan army and the representations of Brasidas respecting the tyranny of Athenian magistrates and garrisons, immediately joined the confederacy of Sparta. Stagirus followed its example, as well as the rich colony of Amphipolis, a most important point, which brought the Spartans into contact with the Athenian colonies on the coast of Thrace, the fertile fields of the Thracian Chersonesus, and the gold mines of the isle of Thasos (424 B. C.).

The nobility of Sparta could ill brook the glory of an expedition in which they did not participate. The supplies, necessary for the completion of his plan, were accordingly refused to Brasidas; and a truce of one year was agreed to between Athens and Sparta, in order to allow time for discussing the proposal—that the places which they had lost, should be restored to the Athenians, if they, in turn, would restore the prisoners taken at Sphacteria. The demagogue, Cleon, however, whose avocations would not allow any compromise, was despatched with an army to Thrace, to expel the Spartans, and chastise the revolted cities. Cleon was fortunate enough to retake some places; but the turbulence and impatience of his soldiers, who inveighed loudly against his cowardice and incapacity, provoked him to lead his forces against Amphipolis, and hazard an engagement with Brasidas. Brasidas executed a skillfully combined attack with great dexterity, and the Spartans were victorious. Both generals perished—Brasidas in the moment of victory, and Cleon in the pursuit¹ (422 B. C.).

¹ *Thucyd.* v. 1. seqq. Brasidas was honoured with a statue and annual games at Amphipolis, as if he had been the original founder of the colony.

By the death of these two men, there now remained two impediments less in the way of bringing about a mutual reconciliation; the one had fanned the flames of war by his success, and the other by availing himself of popular delusion. In Sparta, the persecuted king Plistonax, who had been recalled after an exile of nineteen years, was the advocate of peace; and at Athens, this desire for peace¹ was met with a corresponding feeling on the part of Nicias. Thus negotiations were commenced, and, in the tenth year of the war, a peace was concluded for fifty years, on the condition that all prisoners and cities taken during the war should be restored (422 B. C.).

But the relations of the two states and their allies, as they had been modified in the progress of the war, were not essentially altered, so that the peace might be considered merely a truce. It could hardly be expected that Athens would give up Pylus to Sparta, Nisæa to the Megarians, or Solium and Anactorium to Corinth—that the Thebans would give up Panactum on the frontier and Plataeæ to Athens; or that the Macedonian cities, in order to oblige Sparta, would again accept the yoke of Athens. The peace stipulated, among other points, that all should have unimpeded access to the sanctuary at Delphi; that certain Thracian towns should be permitted to remain neutral; while Amphipolis, Scione, Torone, and Sermylus became dependent upon Athens.² Corinth, Megara, Thebes, and Elis, were violently opposed to the ratification of the peace; and the indignation of the allies of Sparta knew no bounds, when they ascertained that she had entered into another treaty

¹ We may see from Aristophanes, that the number of those who, during the war, had missed the early figs of Attica, and the fat geese and eels of Boeotia, was not trifling. Lacedæmon concluded this peace in spite of the remonstrances made by her allies, the Corinthians, Boeotians, Megarians, and Eleans, and thus endangered her influence, as Sparta had reserved to herself, in one clause, the power of modifying its terms (*Thuc.* v. 29).

² *Thucyd.* v. 18.

with Athens;¹ the final clause of which declared, that if Athens or Sparta thought proper to take from or add to it, they should be at liberty to do so, without any infraction of its provisions on either side. This was construed into a conspiracy against the liberties of Greece.—Although for the space of six years and ten months the two states conducted themselves with so much moderation as not to invade each other's territory, yet a system of mutual annoyance was carried on at other points, until the fiery spirit of Alcibiades fanned it into a flame.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

Character of Alcibiades—Sparta and Argos—The Sicilian Expedition—Charges against Alcibiades—Departure of the Fleet.

ALCIBIADES was connected with the house of the Alcmaeonidæ and with Pericles; and was possessed of considerable property at his birth.² With these advantages he united a form of body distinguished for its manliness and beauty; an exceeding fulness of health and physical energy—grace

¹ *Thucyd.* v. 17.

² His father Clinias had sent a trireme and two hundred men at his own expense to the battle of Salamis.—*Herod.* viii. 17. He was killed at the battle of Coronea, 447 B. C. When young, Alcibiades distinguished himself at the battle of Potidæa, and afterwards at Delium. We first find him influencing a popular decree, when the tributes of the allies were raised (about 422 B. C.); but we behold him with the full power of a demagogue, in the twelfth year of the war (420 B. C.), when he employed all his efforts to bring about an alliance between Athens and Argos, and to annul the peace which Nicias had effected with Sparta.—*Thuc.* v. 43. Compare *Wachsmuth*, vol. ii. p. 240.

and elasticity in all his motions—and a tone of voice whose charms were only increased by a gentle lisp. The vivacity and strength of his intellect were no less worthy of admiration; and a desire to shine by extraordinary achievements was ever his ruling passion. The whole of Greece gazed with admiration at the seven chariots which he sent to the Olympic games, and loudly applauded the munificence of the victor who feasted all the spectators at his own expense. His wonderful versatility has been the theme of all his biographers. At Athens he was intellectual—the very model of elegance and frivolity; at Sparta he was hardy, enduring, full of self-denial, the truest scholar of Lycurgus; in Thrace he was at one time a daring hunter, and at another, an unbounded debauchee; whilst in Asia he exhibited all the refined voluptuousness of a Satrap. In whatever sphere he moved, his brilliance eclipsed all his competitors.¹

As a statesman he was alike formidable and dangerous to all parties. Even at the commencement of his political career, we find him engaged in a contest with Nicias, and menaced with Ostracism; and then uniting with his antagonist² for the overthrow of Hyperbolus, whose character may be estimated from the circumstance, that Ostracism was formally abolished, because its application to him had

¹ Alcibiades is rarely mentioned by Aristophanes; and in the "Frogs," the poet appears to speak of him in terms of respect, as a man, a general, and a statesman. At that time he well knew that no one could protect the state against the designs of the crafty Lysander as effectually as Alcibiades; though twenty years earlier he had in the "Dædaleis" (compare also *Acharn.* 716) stigmatized his incontinence, pernicious sophistry, youthful wilfulness and turbulence, aristocratic pride and passion for horses; whilst the same original may be clearly recognized in the prodigal Phidippides, in the "Clouds."—*Wachsmuth*, vol. ii. p. 317.

² This coalition deprived the Demos for ever of the formidable instrument they had hitherto possessed in the right of Ostracism.—*Plut. Alc.* c. 13. Cf. *Thuc.* viii. 73. Ostracism, as we have observed, was directed against individuals dangerous to the state; but, as at this period those who led the public assemblies were seldom invested with political power, the danger was diminished, and the remedy might be dispensed with.

brought it into disrepute. Nicias himself was soon afterwards obliged to give way to Alcibiades, whose influence was increased by the growing antipathy between Sparta and Athens. The allies of Sparta were not satisfied; the Corinthians had never acceded to the peace, under the plea that they would not abandon the Macedonian cities. The Thracian cities would not submit again to the dominion of Athens, and the Thebans had only concluded a ten years' truce. In this condition of things, great expectations were awakened in the Argives by the Corinthians, who reminded them of the glory of Agamemnon, and that now was the time to regain their ancient and lost supremacy in the Peloponnesus. Even the Corinthians demanded to be made the centre of a confederation against the two leading states. In Sparta, too, a change of Ephori had taken place, and warlike notions were again predominant. The Spartans, in concluding an alliance with the Thebans, received the fortress of Panactum, which they hoped to exchange for Pylus; but in doing this, they contravened an important clause in the treaty with Athens, which stipulated that, "neither of the contracting parties should, without mutual communication and consent, conclude any new alliance."

Thus the seeds of a new war were already sown.¹ Nicias, indeed, laboured to prevent it; but Alcibiades, indignant that Sparta had not chosen him as mediator in the negotiations, was desirous of forming a league with Argos. Now, the Spartans, fearing lest the cession of Panactum by Thebes might be considered as an infringement of the peace,

¹ The defensive system of warfare recommended by Pericles, having greatly augmented the crowd of idle citizens within the walls, they were the more easily gained over by demagogues, who promised them a constant maintenance at the public cost (*Arist. Pac.* 633); and whilst these factious leaders availed themselves of the national jealousy against Sparta, soothed their pride by flattery, fostered their credulity by splendid promises, and their superstition by forged oracles, their natural recklessness increased to such a pitch, that even contemporaries (*Aristoph. Nub.* 583; *Eccles.* 496) wondered how Athens could last so long.—*Hermann*, p. 336.

sent ambassadors to Athens invested with unlimited powers, in order to effect an exchange of Pylus for Naupactum. Alcibiades, at a convivial party, persuaded the ambassadors, when they had been heard in the senate, to make no mention of these powers in the popular assembly; or otherwise the Athenians would raise their demands in a corresponding ratio (421 B. C.).

When the ambassadors, therefore, spoke consistently with this advice, Alcibiades, affecting indignation, immediately stepped forward and accused them of falsehood and double-dealing. "Yesterday they declared their full powers in the senate, to-day they deny it. Such is the usual duplicity of their republic. It is thus that they have restored Amphipolis and the neighbouring towns of Macedon; it is thus they have put you in possession of Panactum, but with demolished walls, whilst they have violated the peace by entering into a league with Thebes." The ambassadors were dismissed with indignation. The people forthwith concluded a league with Argos; and Elis, as well as Mantinea, joined the confederacy, (420 B. C.) The Eleans went so far as to exclude the Spartans from the Olympic games, because, having violated the general custom with respect to a cessation of hostilities during these games, they refused to pay the established penalty.

Not long afterwards, the Spartans, with the aid of their allies, despatched an army against the Argives, who had received succour from Athens, and were engaged in the reduction of Epidaurus, Tegea, and other hostile cities. The Spartans had made every preparation for the struggle, by summoning to the field all who had arrived at the military age, and by resorting to the somewhat dangerous expedient of arming the helots—in addition to the succours which came from Thebes, Corinth, Megara, Sicyon, Pellene, and Phlius. A truce, however, as unexpected as it was inexplicable, was concluded between the chiefs of the two armies, without the concurrence or knowledge of the officers

and troops ; which produced mutual dissatisfaction. The Spartans complained that, having assembled an immense army, and surrounded the enemy, they had thrown away an opportunity of achieving a glorious victory ; and the Argives lamented that their numerous enemies had been permitted to escape by a hasty compromise. Instigated by Alcibiades, who was then resident ambassador at Argos, and more particularly by the arrival of Athenian reinforcements, the Argives laid siege successively to Orchomenus and Tegea in Arcadia. The Spartans, indignant at the conclusion of the treaty, and still more at its infraction, proceeded to elect ten counsellors, who should, for the future, attend the king in the field in order to control his decisions.

The Spartans now hastened with their allies to Mantinea, with the expectation either of surprising the place or drawing off the Argive troops from the siege of Tegea. The Argives were eager to avenge their ancient injuries upon Sparta, the Mantineans to defend their city and maintain their pre-eminence in Arcadia, and the Athenians to re-establish their ascendancy in Greece ; but the allied army had been somewhat weakened by the defection of the Eleans. A battle took place at Mantinea, and the Spartans, though their left wing had been outflanked by the superior skill of the enemy, proved victorious, and again exhibited themselves as the "men who, though fortune had frowned upon them, still continued unaltered in spirit"¹ (476 B. C.). The fruits of the victory, however, were transient, for the popular party in Argos, after enacting the bloody revolutions of Coreyra, re-established their relations with Athens. In order to secure the democracy and the confederacy with Athens, a long wall was built, connecting Argos with the sea, whereby it was impossible to cut Argos off from the support of her sea-powerful ally (416). The island of Melos, a colony from Sparta, which had enjoyed its independence for 700 years, and had preserved a strict neutrality, was also reduced, after a

¹ *Thuc.* v. 72.

gallant resistance, because it refused to join the maritime confederacy against the Spartans. All the males who had arrived at puberty were put to death, the women and children subjected to perpetual servitude, and the island itself colonized from Athens.

Thus fortune again appeared to favour the Athenians. The exhausted treasury had again been replenished; and their fleet was still undiminished in number. Ambassadors from the Sicilian city Egesta, an Ionic settlement, came to Athens, praying for help against Syracuse and Selinus whose united forces were closely besieging it. They represented how imminent the danger was—that the Syracusans, being Dorians, if they once obtained possession of the island, would come to the assistance of the Dorians in Greece. The Athenians at once entered into the spirit of the supplication, being totally unacquainted with the magnitude and population of Sicily, and, at the same time, deceived by an unjustifiable artifice,¹ as to the resources of the Egestæans. In vain did Nicias speak against it, urging, at one time, the impolicy of the expedition, and, at another, the difficulty of carrying it into execution. The glowing imagination of Alcibiades silenced all opposition. He considered Sicily by no means as the ultimate object of this expedition, but as a favourable point for opening a communication with the eastern front of Italy, and the northern shores of Africa. In his mind, he had already subdued Carthage and Libya, and passed over into Italy; whereupon the complete subjugation of Greece, by the resources which Athens would derive from her distant possessions, would crown the whole undertaking. By incorporating the troops of her conquered provinces, Athens might consolidate her empire, while the contributions of her subject states would render it possible for the Athenian

¹ They exhibited to the Athenian commissioners sent to Sicily, the borrowed riches of their neighbours, and raised the extraordinary sum of sixty talents, to maintain for a month an Athenian fleet of sixty sail, as if they were in a condition to repeat it monthly.

citizens to be released from all mercenary labours, and to manifest that superiority of cultivation of which they were susceptible (416 B. C.).

As this enterprise would be committed especially to Alcibiades, its success, of course, would establish his power. The costly presents which had been sent by the most powerful allies of Athens—Lesbos, Chios, Ephesus, and others—already marked him out as the supreme ruler of Athens. When everything was now prepared for the departure of the fleet, the heads of all the *Hermæ*, or statues of Mercury, which served as the boundaries of different edifices and tenements, were suddenly mutilated at Athens in one night, with the exception of that which stood before the house of the orator Andocides. The superstitious regarded it as ominous to the armament about to sail. The council met, and the people assembled, and a reward was offered to him who would denounce the offenders.¹ The enemies of Alcibiades now began their operations, and did not strictly confine themselves to the affair of the *Hermæ*. Other accusers charged Alcibiades with having profaned in his wild carousals the mysteries of Ceres. All these things, contended his enemies, were so many secret attacks upon the constitution of Athens, and aimed at the existence of the democracy; and these representations derived force from the circumstance, that, during this period of agitation and suspicion, a body of Peloponnesian troops had marched towards the isthmus of Corinth. Alcibiades, indeed, demanded to be brought to trial; but his enemies knew well that the army would side with him,² and they also feared his great personal influence among the people. They did not wish, therefore, they said, to delay the sailing of the fleet on account of the trial, but

¹ This is called the prosecution of the *Hermocopidæ* (mutilators of the *Hermæ*), and took place B. C. 415.

² The soldiers and sailors had already begun to intercede for him. A thousand Argives and Mantineans refused to sail unless they were accompanied by Alcibiades.

would put it off till another time; and Alcibiades, who saw through the whole of the plot, was obliged to acquiesce.¹

The fleet fitted out for the Sicilian expedition, was the most splendid and costly that had ever been equipped by a single Hellenic state. Agents were despatched to demand extraordinary contributions from the dependent states, as well as to summon the assistance of the allies. The young embarked in the expedition through the love of honourable danger; and the old imagined that no power could resist such a formidable armament. Besides the thirty-four triremes and three thousand hoplites, assembled by the allies at Corcyra, Athens alone furnished one hundred triremes. As the equipment of these ships devolved, according to custom, upon wealthy individuals, the ships were furnished with all necessaries, and splendidly decorated; the troops vied with each other in the elegance of their dress and the brightness of their arms. The whole armament consisted of 134 triremes, carrying 5,100 hoplites, 480 archers, 700 Rhodian slingers, 120 light armed Megarians, and 30 horsemen; and inclusive of slaves and servants, the whole military and naval strength may be estimated at 20,000 men. The people poured down to the Piræus to witness the spectacle of the embarkation, to see the libations poured out in goblets of gold and silver—to hear the animating sounds of the trumpets issuing at once from a hundred ships, and the triumphant Pæan sung by the fleet in full chorus. The greatness of the resources on the one hand, and the difficulties which were to be encountered on the other, excited in the minds of those that were departing, as well as those that were left behind, every variety of hope and fear—of evil foreboding and joyful expectation (415 B. C.).

¹ Though the mutilation of the Hermæ, and the profanation of the mysteries are quite accordant with the riotous disposition of Alcibiades, yet the charges were never clearly brought home to him. Thucydides himself gives it up as an impenetrable mystery. *Τὸ δὲ σαφὲς οὐθεὶς οὐτε τότε οὐτε ὕστερον ἔχει εἰπεῖν περὶ τῶν δρασάντων τὸ ἔργον*, vi. 60. The infatuation of the people, during the prosecution, was excessive.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

Operations of the Army in Sicily—Recall of Alcibiades—Arrival of Gylippus—The Syracusans successful—Surrender of Nicias and Demosthenes.

THE science of navigation had not yet arrived at that degree of perfection as to embolden Grecian mariners to trust themselves to the broad expanse of the Ionian sea. They, therefore, determined to coast along the eastern shores of Italy, until they reached the Straits of Messina, which separated Italy from the island of their destination. The anxiety of Nicias, who disapproved of the expedition, was soon excited, when Thurii, Tarentum, Locris, and other Greek cities of lower Italy, would neither receive the Athenians, nor permit provisions to be conveyed to them; and still more when the Egestæans appeared in all their native poverty.

A council of war was assembled, in order to deliberate upon the altered aspect of affairs, and the three generals were divided in their opinions as to the best mode of prosecuting their enterprise. Nicias was merely desirous of accommodating the difference between Selinus and Egesta, and leaving with the latter such a proportion of ships as they were able to defray the charges of. Alcibiades considered it most advantageous to form a union with the Hellenic cities, and rouse the Siculi¹ to rebellion against the Syracusans. Lamachus, on the other hand, advised an immediate attack upon Syracuse, as the first and last city which it would be necessary to besiege; an enterprise likely to succeed, while the Syracusans were in a state of consternation, and the Athenians were unbroken in courage.

¹ By the *Siculi*, we mean the aboriginal inhabitants of the island, as distinguished from the Dorians (of Syracuse) and other Greek tribes by whom Sicily was colonized.

The opinion of Alcibiades, however, prevailed; but, scarcely had they begun to carry it into execution, by bringing over Naxos and Catana, when the Salaminian trireme arrived from Athens with orders for the return of Alcibiades, to stand his trial on the charges of high treason and blasphemy, previously mentioned. The affair had not been allowed to drop during his absence; the violation of the statutes was frequently brought before the assembly; many persons were arrested on suspicion, some put to death, others went into exile, and high rewards were offered to those who would denounce the criminals. The orator, Andocides, had been seized on suspicion; and influenced, perhaps, by a desire to save his own life, he named Alcibiades as the chief criminal, who was accordingly recalled. Alcibiades accompanied the trireme that had been sent for him as far as Thurii, and there made good his escape. Sentence of death was, however, passed against him in his absence; whilst the priests and priestesses, according to ancient custom, pronounced the public malediction against him¹ (414 B. C.).

Upon the retirement of Alcibiades, the cautious timidity of Nicias gained the ascendancy over the more warlike counsels of Lamachus – the operations of the campaign became languid, and the enthusiasm of the Athenians evaporated. The whole summer had nearly passed away before the fleet anchored before Syracuse. The town of Syracuse was built in a triangular form, on a spacious promontory; washed on three sides by the sea, and defended, moreover, on the west by inaccessible mountains, which, overhanging the city, were termed Epipolæ. The town was furnished with a triple harbour, fortified by walls eighteen miles in circuit, and its population, inclusive of slaves, might be estimated at 200,000. The Syracusans had long considered the Athenian invasion as mere idle rumour, and were almost reduced to despair when they perceived the Athenian fleet

¹ *Plut. Alcib.* 22. *Lysias c. Andoc.* 252. *Thuc.* viii. 53.

ready to make a descent upon the town. Despair, however, soon gave way to unremitting activity; whilst the slowness of the enemy's operations allowed them time to strengthen their garrisons, equip their fleet, and summon their allies. Nicias was encamped at Catana, thirty miles distant from the capital, and contrived by means of a stratagem to draw off the Syracusan troops towards that town, while the Athenian fleet sailed for Syracuse, and, having disembarked, fortified a camp without the western wall, near a temple of the Olympian Jupiter.

An engagement ensued, in which the Athenians were victorious; an unusual storm of thunder, during battle, had excited the superstitious fears of the Syracusans. But a deficiency in money and cavalry rendered it impossible for the Athenians to maintain their position, and, in fact, the descent had been merely made to gratify the ungovernable temper of the troops. In the following summer these deficiencies were supplied, by reinforcements and remittances from Athens, as well as by succours from the Sicilian allies. Nicias now possessed himself of the heights (*Epipolæ*) that commanded Syracuse, and built a double wall towards the port of Trogyle on the north, and the great harbour on the south. When these circumvallations had surrounded the place by land, he expected, by means of his numerous fleet, to block up the wide extent of the Syracusan harbours. Upon the advice of their leading general, Hermocrates, the Syracusans erected walls which traversed and interrupted those of the enemy. The Athenians, however, were victorious in many engagements (in one of which Lamachus fell), so that Syracuse, already despairing of its own safety, began to treat with Nicias, and talk of a capitulation (414 B. C.).

In the mean time, Alcibiades, having been condemned to death at Athens, fled from Thurii to Cyllene, in Elis, and from thence to Sparta. Here he accommodated himself with wonderful facility to the Spartan mode of life; whilst the charms of his personal appearance and address procured

for him a very considerable influence in the counsels of Sparta. Above all, he powerfully supported the prayers of the Syracusans, that Sparta should take part in the Sicilian war. Succour was accordingly despatched to Syracuse, under the command of Gylippus, and a Corinthian galley brought the news of the approach of a Peloponnesian armament, while the Syracusans were deliberating in a public assembly about the expediency of a capitulation.

Gylippus, in order that he might not be intercepted by the Athenian fleet, landed on the western coast of the island, and rapidly collected an army from the neighbouring cities—Himera, Selinus, Gela, &c. The Syracusans now abandoned all ideas of capitulation—the Athenians were defeated, and the cross-wall from Epipolæ to the town was extended with the greatest diligence beyond the line of circumvallation. This not only prevented the Athenians from enclosing the town any further, but cut off the communication between the two portions of their forces. Their foraging parties were intercepted by the enemy's cavalry; and they were now compelled to depend upon their supplies from the coast of Italy. Nicias, who was reduced to great straits, despatched a letter to Athens, requesting either that the army, whose discipline was fast giving way, should be recalled, or that a very considerable reinforcement of troops and ships should be sent; and that a successor should be appointed to the command of the expedition, as he himself was sick.

The annual invasion of Attica was now converted into a permanent war of devastation; for the Spartans, at the advice of Alcibiades, occupied and fortified Decelea, which was only 120 stadia distant from the city. Athens was thus kept in a state of alarm by the watchful hostility of a neighbouring garrison. The provisions, which were previously brought from Eubœa, overland by Oropus and Decelea, were now carried by sea at great expense; and more than 20,000 slaves ran away from their masters. In spite of all this, the people determined, with a zeal hardly

credible, to continue the war against Syracuse. An Athenian fleet was at the same time engaged in ravaging the coast of the Peloponnesus, another in collecting soldiers and tribute on the coast of Asia, and a third in reducing the rebellion of Amphipolis. Whatever associations may, therefore, be connected with the Athenian democracy, it would certainly be wide of the mark to consider it as a mere tumultuary mob, incapable of wisdom in deliberation, or of energy in execution.

Eurymedon proceeded forthwith to Sicily, with some ships and money; and Demosthenes, after having established some fortifications on the coast of Laconia, collected troops from the neighbouring islands, from Ætolia, Acarnania, and Arcadia whose warlike inhabitants, like the Swiss of modern Europe, were ready to serve either party for money. The armament consisted of 73 galleys exclusive of transports, &c.; the pikemen on board exceeded 5000; the light-armed troops were nearly as numerous, and the whole strength may be reckoned equal to that sent out with Nicias, which amounted to about 20,000 men.

Previous to the arrival of Demosthenes, Gylippus, observing the absence of a considerable number of galleys employed in conducting the convoys of provisions, and anxious to anticipate the arrival of reinforcements from Athens, attacked the fortifications on the promontory of Plemmyrium; while Hermocrates sailed forth with eighty galleys, to venture upon a naval engagement. Hermocrates lost fourteen ships in the engagement; but Gylippus carried three fortresses by land. By unexampled assiduity, the Syracusans acquired a degree of naval skill sufficient to gain a victory over the Athenians in a general engagement fought in the great harbour. Demosthenes, on his arrival, saw that every thing must be decided by boldness and rapidity, and he determined, in opposition to the dilatory caution of Nicias, to assault at once the walls of Syracuse (413 B.C.).

He attempted, therefore, to make an immediate attack

upon the fortresses of Epipolæ by night, under the deceitful glare of the moon. At first every thing was successful—the guards were put to the sword, and three several encampments taken. These successes, and their ardour in prosecuting them, threw the Athenians into disorder. Gylippus had, in the mean time, collected the whole force of Syracuse, and, by ordering his vanguard to retire upon the advance of the Athenians, decoyed them within the intricate windings of the walls. The foremost ranks were now repelled; and in their retreat, fell upon the advancing Argives and Corcyræans, whom they mistook for enemies, on account of their Doric accent. In order to prevent a repetition of this error, the scattered bands were obliged at every moment to demand the watchword; and the enemy having learnt it, could give or refuse it at pleasure. The Athenians were slaughtered without mercy—they found it impossible to retreat through the narrow passages by which they had ascended—numbers threw themselves from precipices, and the stragglers on the morrow were intercepted by the Syracusan cavalry.

The operations of the siege were now suspended; and a sickness, owing, in a great measure, to the marshy soil on which they were encamped, and the varying temperature of an autumnal season, broke out in the Athenian army. In such a combination of calamities, Demosthenes now urged strenuously that the war should be brought to a termination; but Nicias, dreading the indignation of the Athenian people, maintained a different opinion, and in this he was confirmed by secret communications respecting the exhausted treasury of Syracuse. In the mean time, the enemy received fresh reinforcements from the Peloponnesus and the Sicilian cities; every body saw that the return of the Athenians was inevitable, and Nicias opposed it no longer. An eclipse of the moon unfortunately took place on the night appointed for their departure, and the superstitious fears of the multitude were excited. Nicias, who was no less strongly

affected with these fears, determined to wait twenty-seven days longer—the mystical number of thrice nine—as the soothsayers had prescribed. The Syracusans, in a succession of naval skirmishes for three days, deprived the Athenians, on the second day, of a squadron under the command of Eurymedon, and, on the third, destroyed or captured eighteen galleys, and their crews.

Elated with this victory over a people who had so long boasted of their empire of the sea, the Syracusans no longer continued the war for their own deliverance, but with the proud expectation of their being able to annihilate their enemies. For this purpose they blocked up the great harbour, by mooring a chain of triremes, about a mile in breadth, across the entrance, to cut off the retreat of the Athenians. The Athenians now determined to hazard another sea-fight. The shattered galleys were refitted, and provided with grappling-irons, in order to deaden the strokes of the enemy's prows, which were of massive solidity. The land-troops were stationed along the shore, in order to provide a retreat for the Athenian ships, if unsuccessful; for, as Nicias remarked, "the whole fortune of the republic was embarked in the present fleet."

The Syracusans, on their part, had made every preparation for the engagement; they had even covered their prows with slippery hides, in order to elude the dangerous grasp of the grappling irons. One narrow passage was left open in the chain of triremes moored across the entrance of the harbour; and, on either side of it, they stationed a squadron. The Athenians, on the first attack, burst through this passage, repelling the squadrons on either side; and, as the passage widened, the Syracusans rushed into the harbour, whither they were followed by the Athenians. In this narrow space 200 galleys maintained the fight for the greatest part of the day—they grappled and closed with each other—while the heavy-armed troops, engaged in boarding the enemy's ships, exposed their own to a similar

fate. These who remained upon the bank, accompanied, like the chorus in a tragedy, the battle with their feelings—at one time uttering shouts of joy and encouragement when Athenian ships were victorious, and at another cries of grief when they saw them yielding, till at last all was drowned in one universal shriek of despair, when they saw the whole fleet compelled to run ashore. Well might the Roman orator say, that not only the name, but “the glory and empire of Athens suffered shipwreck in the harbour of Syracuse.”

So great was the despondency and exhaustion of the Athenians, that they neglected even the burial of the dead. As the Athenian ships were, however, still superior in number to those of the enemy, Nicias and Demosthenes were desirous of making another attempt to force the passage. But the sailors, dispirited by the preceding defeat, refused to trust themselves again to the faithless elements. All now rested their hopes in a retreat by land, under cover of the night, to some friendly state. The evening after the battle was extremely favourable for that purpose, inasmuch as it was the vigil of the feast of Hercules, and the Syracusans gave themselves up to riot and dissipation, in honour of a god to whom they imagined themselves indebted for their victory. Hermocrates, who knew that it was in vain to stem the current of popular rejoicing, warned the Athenians, by means of a band of horsemen assuming the character of traitors, that ambuscades were lurking in the way, and that the most important passes were occupied by the enemy.

This had the desired effect, and it was on the third day, that forty thousand men, the wrecks of that magnificent armament, quitted Syracuse, by the western route, towards Gela and Camarina. The troops were divided into two squares, Nicias leading the van, and Demosthenes the rear. Still the enemy surrounded and harassed them on every side; and they sent a detachment to fortify the mountain of Acraëum, which intercepted the direct route to Gela and

Camarina. For three successive days the Athenians endeavoured to force the passage without effect; and, on the evening of the third, they determined to make a circuit along the seashore under cover of the night. During this nocturnal expedition, Demosthenes, with a division of 6000 men, parted from Nicias, and being surrounded by the enemy, was compelled to lay down his arms. Nicias held out for some days longer, under incredible hardships; but he was also obliged to surrender (413 B. C.).

The fate of the vanquished was terrible. In vain did Gylippus raise the voice of humanity. By a resolution of the Syracusans, Nicias and Demosthenes were put to death, contrary to the conditions on which they had surrendered. The remaining prisoners were confined about seventy days in quarries—compelled to hard labour—subsisting only on bread and water—exposed to the heats of the mid-day sun, and the damps of autumnal nights. Here they necessarily perished in great numbers. Those that survived, with the exception of the Athenians, Sicilian and Italian Greeks, were sold as slaves. Such was the termination of this ill-fated expedition.¹ One favourable trait in the conduct of the Syracusans must not be forgotten. Many of the Athenian captives melted the Doric severity of their masters, by repeating the plaintive strains of Euripides, and recovered

¹ *Thucyd.* vii. 73, sqq. 42, sqq. The character of Nicias, as a man of honour and integrity, stands deservedly high; but it is evident that he was unfitted for the circumstances in which he was placed. "Want of natural genius made him slow. . . . He endeavoured to atone, by industry and circumspection, for his want of that quickness of conception necessary for devising proper expedients in sudden emergencies. (*Plut. Nic.* 5.). But this want of self-confidence was signally calamitous to Nicias; he asked the advice of soothsayers, in whom he implicitly believed (*Θεισμῶ—προσκελόμενος. Thuc.* vii. 50). This crippled his efforts in the field, and eventually involved him and thousands more in one common destruction. . . . By a bold and decisive step, he might have brought back to Athens the still considerable remains of the army and fleet from Syracuse. Why, even admitting that he would have been made answerable for the failure (on which we see his anxiety, *Thuc.* vii. 14), did he not rather sacrifice himself for the Athenians, than with them?"—*Wachsmuth*, vol. ii. pp. 235, 236.

their liberty. Upon their return to Athens they walked in solemn procession to the house of Euripides, whom they hailed as their deliverer from bonds and death. What triumph could equal this!

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

Consternation of the Athenians—Revolt of the Allies—Treaty with Tissaphernes—Intrigues of Alcibiades—Dissolution of the Democracy—The Recall of Alcibiades.

INTELLIGENCE concerning this terrible defeat first reached Athens in the shape of an obscure rumour; but nobody would believe it; even the soldiers, who had escaped from the scene of disaster itself, were heard with incredulity. At length the fatal confirmation arrived; fear and despair seized every bosom. The people already saw in imagination their allies in a state of revolt, and the victorious enemy before their gates; and they naturally vented their indignation upon the priests who had proclaimed favourable omens, and the orators who had counselled the expedition.

Their native energy of character, however, did not desert the Athenians in this crisis. Every branch of useless expenditure was retrenched, and the demagogues were silenced. A number of citizens of advanced age were formed into a deliberative and executive body, under the name of "Probuli," and empowered to fit out a fleet, in order to secure their dominion of the sea, and their control over the allies, as the latter now conceived it to be a favourable opportunity for achieving their own independence. The ideal superiority of the Athenians over the rest of the Greeks existed no

longer—their formidable fleet had been annihilated—and their multiplied disasters before Syracuse, had converted into contempt that admiration in which they had long been held by Greeks and barbarians.

Joy over the decline of the Athenian power extended itself as far as Persia, which had long been obliged to seek its security more in the weakness of its neighbours, than in its own strength. The defection of Lydia had threatened it with the loss of the valuable provinces of Asia Minor. The satraps, Pharnabazus and Tissaphernes, however, quelled not only the rebellion, but extended the arms of Persia towards the shores of the *Ægean*, as well as of the *Propontis* and *Hellespont*. Having effected their main object, they now earnestly availed themselves of the disasters of Athens for reducing the Greek cities of Asia Minor again under Persian dominion. For this purpose they sought an alliance with Sparta; and a similar application was made by Eubœa, Lesbos, Chios, and other allies, who meditated revolt. In a debate which arose at Sparta, as to which of these solicitations should be attended to, it was determined, on the motion of Alcibiades, to send a fleet of one hundred sail fitted out by the Spartans and their confederates, to the Chians, and Tissaphernes who had promised to pay the sailors and victual the ships. Alcibiades himself accompanied the Spartan, Chalcideus, with a small squadron to Chios, and induced the island to revolt from the Athenians.

Upon the first intelligence of this defection, the Athenians resolved to appropriate a thousand talents, which had been set apart by Pericles at the beginning of the war, in case the enemy should appear before the *Piræus*. The revolt of Chios was rapidly followed by that of *Erythræ*, *Clazomenæ*, *Teos*, *Lebedus*, and even the powerful *Miletus*.

¹ At the same time *Cyzicus*, on the *Propontis*, seconded by Pharnabazus, solicited the aid of the Spartans in expelling the Athenian garrisons from that town. On the advice of Alcibiades, they preferred the overture of Tissaphernes and the Ionians.

An alliance, offensive and defensive, was also formed by Alcibiades and Chalcideus with Tissaphernes; and in this treaty a distinct acknowledgment was made of the right of Persia to the Greek cities and countries that had ever been in their possession. The Athenians, however, did not yield to despair. They prevented the revolt of Samos and Lesbos, reduced Chios, took Clazomenæ, landed at Miletus, and defeated a Milesian army, supported by Peloponnesians and Ionians (412 B. C.).

Commissioners, however, were sent from Sparta, to investigate the conduct of its generals. In the treaty with Tissaphernes, the most startling objection was soon discovered to rest in that article which recognized the right of Persia to all those countries which her kings had ever had in their possession. If this article were literally interpreted, it would include not only the Greek cities in Asia Minor, but many islands and countries of Greece, which had submitted to Xerxes during the Persian invasion. The commissioners, therefore, explained to the satrap that, rather than adhere to such a condition, they would renounce the aid of the Persians altogether. Tissaphernes, indignant at this treatment, broke off the negotiations at once.

This change in the feelings of the satrap towards the Spartans was eagerly seized upon by Alcibiades for the furtherance of his own political designs. The versatile Athenian had long been an object of jealousy to the more distinguished Spartans;¹ and, since the battle of Miletus, he had been so much suspected, that orders were transmitted to the commander of the fleet to put him to death. Having received timely information on this point from some of the principal families in Sparta, Alcibiades surrendered himself to Tissaphernes; and his great tact soon acquired him the unlimited confidence of the satrap. On his advice, Tissaphernes reduced the pay of the Peloponnesian sailors,

¹ There was another ground of grievance. Alcibiades had been guilty of an intrigue with Timea, the wife of King Agis.

procuring, at the same time, by bribery, the acquiescence of the naval commanders and mercenary orators; and thus the minds of the troops were alienated from Tissaphernes and their commanders. Policy, observed Alcibiades, demanded that Tissaphernes should seek to protract the war between Sparta and Athens, in order that both might be weakened. Ever intent upon his return to Athens, he added, that Persia should sooner ally herself with Athens, which was only a maritime power, than with Sparta, which was also a land-power, and which evidently wished to crown its object of delivering the Greeks from the Athenians, by delivering them likewise from the yoke of Persia.

Tissaphernes acted agreeably to these suggestions; and the conduct of Alcibiades soon began to exhibit itself in a praiseworthy light to the Athenians. Under these circumstances negotiations were commenced between Alcibiades and the Athenian fleet that lay at Samos. Alcibiades gave out that he was only desirous of returning to Athens, and that he could procure the support of Persia, and prevent the Phœnician fleet from co-operating with that of Peloponnesus, in case the democracy at Athens should be dissolved. It must be remarked, that Androcles, one of his most inveterate enemies, was at the head of the *demus*; and the proposition of Alcibiades was not based upon any attachment to an oligarchical form of government, but upon a cool calculation that, discord being once excited among the different orders of citizens, his assistance would be invited by one or other of the parties. Phrynichus, one of the commanders of the fleet, was the only person who saw through the real intentions of Alcibiades, and had recourse to a series of stratagems to thwart him. In the mind of Phrynichus, hatred to Alcibiades, and a dread of his vengeance whenever he should effect his return, outweighed the prospect of any advantages he might expect to derive from the introduction of oligarchy; on which account he perfidiously endeavoured to ruin him in the estimation of the Spartans.¹

¹ *Thucyd.* viii. 50.

The majority of the army were induced to accede to the dissolution of the democracy, by the prospect of the Persians becoming their pay-masters. Even in Athens itself, the idea began to gain ground that this was the only measure which could preserve the state; and the excesses of the people, during the prosecution of Alcibiades, had determined many respectable members of the community in favour of establishing an aristocracy. In an extraordinary assembly, convened in the theatre of Bacchus, Pisander, who headed the deputation from the army, declared to the Athenians, that this was the only method by which they could save themselves, their families, and their country. It was no slight undertaking, on the part of Pisander, to overthrow a democracy of a hundred and twenty years' standing; but we must recollect, that most of the able-bodied citizens were absent with the fleet, whilst such as were still in the city were confounded by the imminence of the danger from without. Pisander entrapped the people into compliance with his measures, and induced them to send him with ten plenipotentiaries to the navy at Samos.¹ Negotiations were accordingly commenced with Tissaphernes, though they were broken off on account of the extravagant demands which Alcibiades, in the name of the satrap, made upon the Athenians.

This, however, did not prevent the contemplated dissolution of the democracy from being carried into effect. Androcles and many other friends of the people were removed out of the way by secret assassination; and, in the midst of this universal terror, the people were compelled to pass a decree empowering ten *Syngrapheis* or *Catalogeis* to draw

¹ *Thucyd.* viii. 54. Phrynichus and Pisander were equally insincere in their co-operation with Alcibiades. The former, who had once been a shepherd, afterwards became a sycophant (*ἰσχυμαίνων—ἰσχυροφάντης*, *Lys. pro Polystr.* 674); the latter was stigmatized as a coward (*δεδωδρότος Πισάνδρου*, *Suid.*). Their plan was, that Alcibiades should reconcile the people to the change in their constitution, by promising to obtain them the assistance of the great king; but they alone resolved to reap the benefit of his exertions.

up a new constitution.¹ The government was remodelled under the open leadership of Pisander, Theramenes, and Phrynichus; and the secret directions of the celebrated orator Antiphon. "The latter," says Thucydides, "was second in virtue to no man then living, endowed with the greatest vigour of thought and expression; he inspired the multitude with respect and awe by the commanding powers of his mind."² The leaders provided for their own security, in the first place, by annulling the right, given by the Solonian constitution to every citizen, of bringing actions against the authors of illegal measures;³ and they abolished all salaries, in order to exclude the poorer citizens from the administration. Five thousand citizens, selected from the mass of the people, now took the place of the popular assembly, and four hundred citizens that of the senate. The four hundred repaired to the council-house with a body of armed youths,⁴ and ordered the council of five hundred to dissolve upon the receipt of their salaries. Thus the people of Athens were stripped of the supremacy which they had acquired above a hundred years before by the expulsion of the family of Pisistratus (411 B.C.).

But the four hundred tyrants, as they were termed, were far more solicitous to establish their own power by intimidating the multitude, than to prosecute the war against the Peloponnesians. They governed without a popular assem-

¹ The duty of the *Συγγραφεὺς* was to frame the laws; that of the *Καραλογεὺς* to draw up a list of those citizens destined to participate in the supreme power.

² Ὑπόπῳ τῷ πλήθει διὰ δόξαν δεινότητος διακείμενος, *Thucyd.* viii. 68. As to Theramenes, his notorious want of faith, and his versatility, obtained him the *sobriquet* of Cothurnus, the shoe that may be worn on either foot (Cf. Photius, *εὐμεταβολώτερος κοθόρνου*); none but the ignorant and undiscerning respected him, and injudicious historians alone have mentioned him in terms of commendation (as *Diodorus*, xiii. 38).—*Wachsmuth*, vol. ii. p. 256.

³ Γραφή παρανόμων.

⁴ *Thuc.* viii. 69. Ἕλληνες νεανίσκοι. The first word is inserted, according to Wasse, to distinguish them from the Scythians, public servants.

bly, and even without making known the names of those who were qualified to be, or were elected, members of the five thousand; so that friends and foes being alike indistinguishable, the minds of all might continually fluctuate between hope and fear. The exiles were not recalled, through fear of Alcibiades; the disaffected were imprisoned or put to death; and emissaries were sent to Sparta to request peace, in order that the co-operation of the latter might strengthen the oligarchy. In this exigency, the Samian demus obtained an unexpected victory over their own oligarchs; and the enthusiasm in favour of the democratic form of government, soon communicated itself to the fleet. This movement was not only supported by the Samians, but secretly fostered by Alcibiades and his friends. Thrasybulus exhorted the soldiers not to despair of effecting the same revolution in the city; to recollect that they were furnished with 100 ships, and in possession of Samos, an island which had formerly contended with Athens for the dominion of the sea. In an assembly of the army, a resolution was passed that the oligarchy should not be acknowledged, and that the democracy should be maintained. They imagined that all errors might be repaired by the recall of Alcibiades; and this, accordingly, took place. Alcibiades did not fail in a general assembly of the army to set forth his great influence with Tissaphernes, in withholding the stipulated pay from the Peloponnesian forces, and to remark, that the Phœnician fleet, which had been so often promised to the Spartans, would unite with the Athenian.

The army immediately chose him one of their generals, and referred everything to his management. Alcibiades had now arrived at that elevation which had been the object of his previous negotiations. As a general of the Athenians, he was formidable to Tissaphernes—as a friend of the latter he was indispensable to the Athenians; and, in both relations, he destroyed all confidence betwixt Sparta and the satrap. The army being inflamed by continual reports

respecting the cruelty of the four hundred tyrants, were desirous of sailing forthwith to Athens, in order to take vengeance upon their enemies. Alcibiades, however, aware that his departure would expose the Hellespont, Ionia, and the islands to the hostile fleet, opposed the resolution, but sent a message to the four hundred: "that they must divest themselves of their illegal power, and restore the ancient constitution. If they delayed obedience, he would sail to the Piræus and deprive them of their authority and their lives."

The increasing importance of Alcibiades began to fill the oligarchs with dread, and encourage the friends of the democracy. Violent commotions ensued—Athens was threatened with the horrors of a Corcyraean sedition. Though one portion of the oligarchy, headed by Theramenes, wished to seek a reconciliation with the people—the adherents of the democracy were afraid, and not without reason, lest the more determined should detain the Peloponnesian fleet, then in the neighbourhood of Attica, for their own protection. The commander of the Spartan fleet, however, perceiving the violent opposition that he must encounter, for all ranks hastened to man the vessels in the harbour, sailed unexpectedly for Eubœa. The Peloponnesian fleet was liberally supplied with provisions from the island of Eubœa; but the Athenians could not obtain a market, as the Eubœans retired from the coast on their approach. Several parties were, therefore, despatched into the country to procure provisions, and the Spartan commander seized this opportunity to attack them. He defeated the Athenians between Eretria and Oropus, took twenty of their ships, and effected the revolt of the island (411 B. C.).

This was the severest blow that Athens had received in the war. Neither the invasion of Xerxes, nor the defeat in Sicily, had excited such consternation; and, as the Athenians had no more ships to launch, and the camp was divided against the city, and the city against itself, the Piræus itself might have been taken, and Athens completely annihilated,

had the Spartans known how to avail themselves of their advantages. The Athenians, however, soon recovered their courage, under the able conduct of Theramenes—expelled the enemies of democracy, and gave another form to the administration. An assembly of the people was convoked, which dissolved the four hundred, and invested with power five thousand citizens, who bore arms.¹ The former council was revived; but it was forbidden on pain of malediction,² to accept of remuneration for the discharge of an office; and the five thousand held several meetings to appoint legislators and settle the constitution.³ The government was brought back to its original form, as established by Solon. "And now," says Thucydides, "for the first time, in the present age, at least, the Athenians modelled their government aright; and this enabled Athens again to raise her head." The acquiescence of the army in these proceedings, was in a great measure owing to the exertions of Alcibiades, who was now formally recalled from exile.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

Successes of the Athenians—Return of Alcibiades—Lysander—Disgrace of Alcibiades—The Ten Generals.

AFTER this reconciliation of parties, fortune again appeared to favour the Athenians. The Peloponnesian fleet sailed to the Hellespont, in order to join the satrap Pharnabazus, whose protection they now courted. In the narrow channel

¹ Ὅπλα, heavy arms. ² Ἐπάρατον ἐποιήσαντο.—*Thucyd.* viii. 97.

³ Ἐκκλησίαι, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ νομοθέτας καὶ τᾶλλα ἐψηφίσαντο ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν.—*Thucyd.* viii. 97.

between Sestos and Abydos, the Athenians took twenty ships in an engagement, and lost fifteen. Soon afterwards they intercepted a squadron of fourteen Rhodian vessels, near Cape Rhegium; Myndarus put to sea in order to prevent their destruction. The engagement was fought from morning till night, near the shore of Abydos, but terminated in favour of the Athenians, on account of the seasonable arrival of Alcibiades with a reinforcement of eighteen ships. The Athenians sailed to Sestos, carrying with them thirty Peloponnesian galleys, and the fifteen which they had lost in the previous engagement. Tissaphernes, in order that he might justify himself to the Persian court and to the Spartans, commanded Alcibiades to be taken prisoner, and to be sent to Sardis. He escaped, however, in about a month to Clazomenæ, from which place he sailed with six ships to join the fleet.

The Peloponnesian fleet had retired to the friendly port of Cyzicus, in order to be repaired; and the Athenian fleet, finding that they could make no impression upon towns so strongly fortified as Byzantium, Selembria, and Perinthus on the European, or Lampsacus, Parium, and Chalcedon on the Asiatic coast, without obtaining more decided advantages, determined to follow them. Alcibiades intercepted sixty Peloponnesian ships in a dark and rainy morning; and as the morning cleared up, the rest sailed forth to their assistance, and the action became general. The whole Peloponnesian fleet fell into the hands of the Athenians, with the exception of the Syracusan ships, which were burnt by Hermocrates, their commander. This disaster reduced the Spartans to the greatest despair; when they received intelligence from Hippocrates, the second in command: "All is lost; our ships are taken: Myndarus is slain; the men want bread; we know not what to do"¹ (411 B. C.). Ambassadors

¹ *Xen. Hellen.* i. c. 1. The people of Syracuse, being disappointed in the issue of the expedition, inveighed against the incapacity of their commanders—superseded them in their command—and ordered

were despatched to Athens to treat about peace; but the Athenians, being elated with their victories, would not enter into negotiations.

Fifty ships, carrying a thousand hoplites and a hundred horsemen, were now sent to reinforce¹ Alcibiades, who took every precaution for the improvement of his victory. He reduced some cities on the Black Sea, and defeated Pharnabazus twice by land. All the cities along the coast were recovered—the ancient sources of wealth were again opened, whilst the secure possession of Chalcedon, and the conquest of Byzantium guaranteed to Attica the undisturbed continuance of the importation of corn. At the same time it must be remarked, as a favourable circumstance for the Athenians, that the Syracusans were prevented from sending reinforcements by an invasion of the Carthaginians; and the revolt of the Medes prevented due succours from supporting the arms of Pharnabazus (410-408 B. C.).

Thus the individual who, but a few years ago, had been the most dangerous enemy of Athens, again restored his native city to its former eminence. His approach to Athens was a sort of triumphal procession; and the Piræus was crowded with an innumerable multitude of people expecting his arrival. Alcibiades, receiving confidence from the great number of his friends in attendance, made his way through the dense mass to the council. On the following day he appeared before an extraordinary assembly of the people, convoked by the magistrates. Here he defended himself with his usual tact, laying the blame of the past more upon envious fortune than upon the people; contrasting the actual condition of affairs now, with their condition when he assumed the command; whilst he spoke in terms of high

them to go into exile. Hermocrates and his colleagues paid the strictest obedience to this decree, notwithstanding the opposition of the men under their command.

¹ Thrasyllus, the commander of this reinforcement, took Colophon on his way, devastated Lydia, but was foiled in an attack upon Ephesus.

encouragement with respect to the future. The people immediately chose him commander-in-chief, with unlimited power; and passed a resolution that his property, which had been confiscated, should be restored—and that the curse, which had been pronounced against him as the violator of the Eleusinian mysteries, should be revoked. The next Eleusinian festival was celebrated by Alcibiades with all due pomp and solemnity. The pompous procession, which marched for ten miles along the road from Athens to Eleusis, had been intermitted on account of the occupation of Decelea by the Spartans, and they had been compelled to proceed by sea. Alcibiades, however, rendered it safe to proceed by the "sacred way;" the whole body of heavy armed troops were drawn out to protect the procession; and thus he acquired, with the multitude, a merit surpassing that of a victory. The democracy may now be considered as re-established (407 B. C.).¹

The Spartans, on their part, met with a man extremely well adapted to raise their declining fortunes. Lysander, in the severity of his life and character, was altogether a Spartan. He possessed an aptitude, rather foreign to his countrymen, for combining extensive plans with extreme cunning, and prosecuting them, at the same time, with great enthusiasm. Spartan dishonesty was carried by Lysander beyond all bounds, for his maxim was, that "boys were to be cheated with dice and men with oaths." This was the man whom the Spartans appointed to the office of navarch or admiral.²

¹ The return of Alcibiades took place in the twenty-fifth summer of the war, and on the day on which the ceremony of the "ablution" of the statue of Minerva, called "*Plynteria*" (πλύνω, to wash) took place. This was an inauspicious day, and foreboded, in the eyes of the multitude, the calamities that afterwards befel the republic.—*Xen. Hellen.*; *Plut. in Alcib.*

² He was descended from Hercules. To one who asked him "how he, who sprang from that hero, could condescend to conquer his enemies by fraud,"—he replied "that he had learned to eke out the lion's with the fox's skin;" alluding to the lion's skin of Hercules.

In the mean time, a change occurred in Asia favourable to the Spartans. Cyrus, the younger son of Darius, had taken the place of Tissaphernes: his mother, Parysatis, having procured for him the government of the whole coast of Asia. Cyrus felt more disposed to cultivate a good understanding with Lysander than with Alcibiades, the friend of Tissaphernes. Lysander, who repaired to Sardis, represented to Cyrus, that the perfidious duplicity of Tissaphernes, in refusing to supply the stipulated pay to the Peloponnesians, had enabled the Athenians, the inveterate enemies of Persia, to reassume the ascendant in the east. Cyrus answered that he was furnished with 500 talents for the purpose of paying the Peloponnesian troops with punctuality; and if that sum was insufficient, he would willingly cut in pieces the throne, composed of gold and silver, on which he sat. The pay was accordingly fixed at thirty minæ a month for each ship, or three oboli a day for every seaman. At a convivial meeting, Lysander obtained from Cyrus ten thousand darics, which enabled him to discharge the arrears due to his troops, raise their allowance to four oboli a day, and seduce innumerable deserters from the Athenian fleet.

On the other hand, want of success on the part of Alcibiades again brought into view the fickleness of the Athenian character. He had set sail from Athens with a fleet of 100 triremes, 5000 hoplites, and 150 horsemen; and the Athenians confidently expected the reduction of Chios, Ephesus, Miletus, and other revolted cities and islands. But the first attack upon the isle of Andros miscarried; for a vigorous resistance, and the necessity of procuring pay and subsistence for the fleet, rendered it necessary to leave the work imperfect. The adversaries of Alcibiades, therefore, soon found means to damage his popularity. He was opposed by personal enemies, such as Thrasybulus, as well as by traitors who still meditated the restoration of oligarchy, like Theramenes; not to mention the reckless

demagogues, headed by Cleophon and Philocles,¹ who regarded it as their peculiar vocation to attack the most eminent individuals in the state.

But a fresh disaster at the promontory of Notium roused the Athenians to a state of indignation.

Here Alcibiades lay at anchor, with his whole fleet, in the neighbourhood of Lysander, who was at Ephesus: each seeking an opportunity to attack the other with advantage. Lysander, on his side, was plentifully supplied with money by Cyrus; but Alcibiades was compelled to adopt severe regulations against the cities, as well as to be frequently absent, for the purpose of raising contributions. On one of these occasions, the fleet was entrusted to the care of Antiochus, a favourite of Alcibiades, yet a man "naturally precipitate and desirous of himself to perform some great thing." Contrary to the express orders of Alcibiades, Antiochus sailed towards Ephesus, and committed the fleet to an engagement with Lysander,² who captured fifteen of the ships. In vain did Alcibiades, on his return, endeavour to provoke the wary Spartan to a second engagement; Lysander prudently declined it.

The enemies of Alcibiades seized upon this as a favourable opportunity; and the people, who had been deceived in their expectations, lent a ready ear to their accusations. Thrasybulus, one of his colleagues, or rather deputies, who had returned from the fleet, conducted the accusation, ascribing their disasters to the misconduct of Alcibiades.

¹ Cleophon, however, cannot be charged with dishonesty; and it is probable that he became one of the accusers of Alcibiades, because he suspected him of designs prejudicial to the public welfare. His hatred to Sparta, and all who were in her interest, was founded upon the persuasion that they were enemies to the Athenian democracy, on which account he strenuously resisted all negotiations for a peace with that state. Philocles was the author of the enactment, that after a victory, the right hand of the prisoners should be cut off. (*Plut. Lysand. viii.*)—*Wachsmuth*, Vol. ii. p. 262.

² Lysander delayed the attack, until the confidence of the Athenians had thrown them into disorder.

His frequent absence from the army was ascribed to his propensity for licentious indulgence; complaints were preferred by the subject-cities respecting the abuse of his power; and the fact of his having built a fortress upon the Thracian Chersonese, was adduced as a proof that he was desirous of sheltering himself against the just vengeance of the republic.¹ In consequence of these accusations, Alcibiades was deposed, and ten other generals were appointed in his stead. The new generals sailed immediately to Samos, and Alcibiades shut himself up in his Thracian fortress.

In the mean time, Callicratidas was sent out to succeed Lysander, as his year of holding office had expired. Lysander had so completely attached to his person those who were under his authority, that it was with great difficulty that Callicratidas could assume the command. He threw every obstacle in his way; and prevailed upon Cyrus to keep back the stipulated pay from the troops. Callicratidas laid his case before the confederate cities; and without fraud or violence, he was so fortunate as to raise such voluntary contributions, as enabled him to return to Ephesus, in order to prepare for action. His first operations were directed against the isle of Lesbos: and Methymnæ, a fortified town, was taken by storm. Conon, one of the Athenian commanders, proceeded to Lesbos with a squadron of 70 sail. Finding his force unequal, he endeavoured to retreat to Samos, but was intercepted by Callicratidas, and compelled to risk an engagement (406 B. C.).

¹ "The popular mind," says Wachsmuth, speaking generally, "was kept in constant alarm by allusions to conspiracies and machinations against their sovereignty. Their credulity was beguiled by the most palpable falsehoods...the words, "Dissolution of the Demos," (*κατάλυσις τοῦ δήμου*) struck consternation into their souls...The most exaggerated expectations were formed of the abilities and success of a person who undertook an office, and when these were not justified by the event of an enterprise, all the blame was laid upon the conductors of it (*Thucyd.* iii. 43; iv. 65; vii. 14, 48; viii. 1), who were accordingly persecuted with implacable animosity."—Vol. ii. pp. 198, 199.

After a loss of 80 triremes on the part of the Athenians, Callicratidas was so fortunate as to shut up Conon's fleet in the harbour of Mitylene. The vigilance of the enemy, however, was eluded, and intelligence of the blockade was transmitted to Samos and Athens. The resources of the Athenians were not yet exhausted. A hundred and fifty triremes sailed and took their station at the islet Arginusæ,¹ opposite Lesbos. Callicratidas, however, was not dismayed. "To fly," said he, "would be disgraceful, for Sparta will not be governed the worse after my death." In the ensuing battle he did lose his life, as well as 70 triremes; and the loss would have been still greater, had not a violent storm come to his assistance, which enabled the remaining ships to escape to Chios and Phocæa.

Upon a deliberation, it was resolved by the Athenian generals, that a detachment of 50 vessels should be left for the purpose of recovering the bodies of the slain, and the wrecks of twelve vessels that had been disabled in the engagement, while the remainder should sail to Lesbos, in quest of the Peloponnesians. Eteonicus, the Spartan vice-admiral at Lesbos, received intelligence respecting the defeat; but he ordered the vessel which brought it, to put back to sea again, and return in a given time, with joyous acclamations and music—the rowers crowned with garlands, as if the Spartans had obtained a victory. Upon this, the soldiers broke up the camp, and proceeded to reinforce the garrison of Methymnæ, while the fleet took advantage of a favourable gale to sail to the isle of Chios, where they carefully secured themselves in the principal harbour. Intelligence had been sent to Athens respecting the glorious victory, and the meditated expeditions against Mitylene,

¹ It may be remarked, that previous to this battle, the Athenians were reduced to the necessity of arming the resident aliens (*Metæci*) and slaves, with the promise of liberty and civil rights... From a comparison of various statements, we may assume that the slaves were enfranchised and made *Metæci*, the *Metæci* being created citizens.—*Wachsmuth*, Vol. ii. pp. 192, 193.

Methymnæ, and Chios; but what was the surprise of the Athenians, when they learnt that their fleet, in consequence of the able movements of Eteonicus, had returned to Samos, without reaping the anticipated fruits of victory!

A still more distressing circumstance had taken place. The violence of the storm had prevented Theramenes and Thrasybulus, to whom the charge had been entrusted, from recovering the wrecks and the bodies of the dead. Theramenes sailed home, with a view to exculpate himself and his colleague. He accused the other generals of having neglected the favourable opportunity for this purpose, and then devolving the charge upon others, in order to shift the responsibility. The demagogues, supported by the relations of the deceased who appeared in mourning robes, denounced the admirals; and as it chanced to be the festival of Apaturia, when the Athenians inscribed the names of their sons, who had reached their seventh year, in the registers of their respective tribes—it was proposed and carried, “that the cause of the admirals should be *immediately* referred to the people, and the suffrages should be given by tribes.” In such a popular ferment, how could the voice of reason or humanity be heard? The people declared that “nothing should deter them from acting as they thought proper.”¹

In vain did the generals assert that they had given orders for recovering the bodies of the dead, and that these orders were only prevented from being carried into execution by the storm. Perhaps the violent democratic party were afraid lest the victorious generals might make a second attempt to introduce the oligarchy, though there appears no solid ground for their apprehension. The better sort of citizens, we must observe, were absent on duty with the fleet, so that

¹ Τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἔβόα, δεινὸν εἶναι, εἰ μὴ τις ἰάσεται τὸν δῆμον πράττειν, ὃ ἂν βούληται.—Xen. *Hell.* i. 7. 12. Cleophon took no part in the proceedings. The oligarchic party, who steadily co-operated with Sparta, had been joined once more by Theramenes, and the traitors of Ægos-potamos, Adimantus and Tydeus, belonged to them. Compare *Wachsmuth*, Vol. ii. p. 264.

the whole question was left to the decision of the dregs of the populace.¹ Every conceivable art was made use of to work upon the people, and six of the generals were actually executed²—two having gone into voluntary exile. This unjust sentence has left a stain in the annals of Athenian democracy which can never be effaced. It must be remarked, however, that they afterwards passed a decree, evincing remorse and indignation against their evil counsellors.³

CHAPTER XX.

PELOPONNESIAN WAR—THE THIRTY TYRANTS.

Successes of Lysander—Battle of Ægos-potamos—Reduction of Athens—Death of Alcibiades—Corruption of the Spartans—Thrasylbulus—Expulsion of the Thirty Tyrants.

SUCH proceedings as these were calculated to repress the ardour of Athenian generals; whilst, on the other hand, Lysander appeared again at the head of the Spartan fleet.⁴ Having received fresh pecuniary supplies from Cyrus, and equipped a fleet of 150 ships, he sailed to the Hellespont, and reduced the wealthy city of Lampsacus. The Athenians, too late, however, to save the city, followed him with 180 triremes, and took their station at Ægos-potamos (Goat's River), right over against Lampsacus, and about two miles distant from Sestos—the nearest place from which

¹ Οἱ ἐν οἴκῳ.—*Xen. Hell.* i. 7. 1.

² *Xenoph. Hellen.* i. 7.

³ *Xen. Hell.* i. 7. 1.

⁴ The Spartan law prohibited any man from being invested twice with the command of the fleet. The Spartans evaded it, by appointing Aracus, a weak and obscure man, admiral, and Lysander second in command. Virtually, therefore, Lysander was at the head, as stated in the text.

necessaries could be supplied. As there were no harbours in the neighbourhood, and as provisions could not be brought except from a distance, the crews were frequently obliged to leave the ships, and disperse themselves over the country. This did not escape the notice of Lysander; and Alcibiades, who was in the neighbourhood, warned the Athenian generals of their danger. He advised them to remove to Sestos; but when he solicited a share in the command, his counsel was rejected.

The commanders, however, paid dearly for their obstinacy and imprudence. On the fifth day, the Athenians again sailed out to provoke the Lacedæmonians to battle; and, upon their return, Lysander received a signal from the spies, that the Athenians, as usual, had gone ashore, and were scattered over the country. He immediately put his whole fleet into motion, and captured that of the Athenians almost without striking a blow; for the ships were either totally empty, or manned by such crews as were unable to work, much less to defend them. The troops who flocked to the shore, were either slain or repulsed by the Peloponnesians. Conon escaped with eight ships to Cyprus, and from thence he transmitted intelligence to Athens respecting the capture of the fleet. The Athenians were thrown into the utmost consternation at the news of this disaster; the loss of their whole fleet, and the capture of three thousand prisoners. Lysander, after having held a council of war, ordered the whole of the prisoners to be put to death, an act to which they were instigated by the recent treatment of an Andrian and Corinthian vessel, as well as the meditated cruelty against the Peloponnesians in case of success (405 B. C.).

The intrigues of the oligarchs knew no intermission; the decisive blow which annihilated the last support of Athens, its fleet, at Ægos-potamos, was unquestionably the work of their treachery.¹ However useless it may have been in the

¹ Adimantus, *Xen.* ii. 1, 32; and Tydeus, *Cf. Paus.* x. 9, 5; *Lys. in Eratosth.* c. 36; *adv. Alc.* i. c. 38.

demagogue Cleophon to oppose the conclusion of a peace at all hazards—after the battles of Cyzicus, Arginusæ, and Ægos-potamos—the charges and accusations of conspiracy which he brought against the senate,¹ and which cost him his life, were assuredly well founded.² The conspirators succeeded, immediately after the battle, in procuring the nomination of five *ephoroi* from their own party, with full powers for the administration of all public matters. The reinstatement of the *atimoi* in their rights served to strengthen their party; and even the preparations for an obstinate defence of the city had probably the same object as the treacherous embassy of Theramenes to Lacedæmon,³ namely, to terrify the people by the threatened horrors of a protracted siege, to accept any terms that might be proposed.⁴

In the mean time Athens was approaching the crisis of her fate. Lysander, after having reduced Byzantium, Chalcædon, Mitylene, and extended his arms over the maritime towns of Lydia and Caria, the shores of Mædon, and the seaports of Thrace—appeared before the Piræus with a fleet of 150 ships, and blocked up the harbour. Though the importation of provisions was not entirely cut off by the Peloponnesian squadrons, yet the scarcity soon became sensible; for, in all the towns which surrendered or were taken by storm, the garrisons were saved only on condition that they should return to Athens. The Athenians, therefore, determined to sue for peace, on condition that their harbour and Long Walls should be preserved. But this proposition

¹ Κλεοφῶν τὴν βουλὴν ἐλοιδορεῖ, φάσκων συνεστάναι καὶ οὐ τὰ βέλτιστα βουλευεῖν τῇ πόλει.—*Lysias adv. Nicom.* 847-849.

² Cf. *adv. Agorat.* c. 7-12, and the incidental mention of him in *Xen. Hell.* i. 7, 40.

³ *Xen. Hell.* ii. 2. 16, seqq.; *Lys. adv. Erat.* c. 68; *adv. Agorat.* c. 9, seqq.

⁴ Hermann, p. 341-344. Aristophanes, in the "Frogs," alludes to the equivocal and time-serving character of Theramenes (l. 539, 540); and the admiral, Adimantus, who soon afterwards acted so suspiciously in the battle of Ægos-potamos, is described as a man whose death every one was bound to pray for (*Ran.* 1513).

was rejected by the Spartans. Theramenes now stepped forward, and promised that he would procure an honourable peace for the city if he were invested with full powers. His return, however, after an absence of three months, did not terminate the crisis, though his delay exposed the Athenians to all the horrors of famine; yet he was despatched a second time, with nine others, to negotiate a definite peace.

The Peloponnesian confederacy was now assembled in congress to decide the fate of Athens. The Thebans were desirous that it should be totally demolished;¹ but the Spartans declared that they would not consent to the destruction of a city which had rendered such important services to Greece. Accordingly, it was demanded of the Athenians, that they should pull down the Long Walls and the fortifications of the Piræus—deliver up all their ships except twelve—recall all who had been exiled by the people—renounce their right of dominion over the allies, and follow the Spartans henceforth in war, whether by sea or land. The famine was now intolerable, and the people were dejected when they remembered that from the first commencement of hostilities, it had been constantly prophesied that the war should last “thrice nine years,” a period which had now elapsed (431-404 B. C.).

After some hesitation, the people at last submitted to these conditions.² Lysander entered the Piræus on the anniversary of the immortal victory of Salamis. The exiles were recalled—the ships, that had once exhibited such a magnificent spectacle, were burnt, and the walls were demolished amidst the sounds of music and the rejoicings of the confe-

¹ The eagerness of Thebes and Corinth for the destruction of Athens might, in part, be owing to an apprehension lest Sparta should be permanently established in so important a position: this, at least, was their reason for refusing to join Pausanias in his expedition against Athens (*Xen.* ii. 4. 30). We, at all events, soon see them both disregard the orders of Lacedæmon by supporting Athenian refugees, and withdraw from the expedition against Elis, B. C. 401 (*iii.* 2, 25).

² *Xenoph. Hellen.* ii. 2. 20.

derates. The day was concluded with a festival, and the recitation of the "Electra" of Euripides, in which the misfortunes of the daughter of Agamemnon, exiled from a royal palace to a "rustic and humble roof," excited a kindred sympathy in the bosoms of the audience. Thus ended the Peloponnesian war, twenty-seven years after its commencement—eighty-six years after the battle of Marathon, and four hundred and four before the birth of Christ. Thus ended too the dominion of Athens, seventy-five years after the battle of Salamis, which had laid its foundation. Yet the city had accomplished much that was great in that period. The empire of taste and philosophy, the glory of the Hellenes had been firmly established; the power of the Persian king had been broken, and Greece, though labouring under oppression from within, was at least emancipated from foreign dominion. With justice, therefore, might Lysias say, that "Greece on the fall of Athens, should have shorn her hair and mourned at the tomb of her heroes, as over the sepulture of liberty itself."¹

The Spartans now laboured to infuse a new spirit into the Athenian administration.² For this purpose, Thirty men, under the influence of Lysander, were invested with supreme power³ to draw up a constitution from such Spartan laws as were destined for the future regulation of the

¹ *Epitaph. &c.—Rotteck*, ii. 97.

² Agreeably to the principles which it had ever practised, "wherever Athens was predominant, either by its influence or its arms, there the *democracy* was established; and, whenever Sparta was victorious, there it introduced an *aristocracy* or an *oligarchy*. This policy increased the bitterness and the miseries of all parties; for a contest of opinions was added to the contest of arms, and the horrors of civil strife to the horrors of foreign war."—*Rotteck*, ii. 95.

³ The *Thirty* were elected from among the 400 (p. 250), ostensibly for the purpose of framing a new constitution. But, instead of doing that, they seized on the supreme power, named a senate with judicial powers, and magistrates of their own choice; and limited the rights of citizenship and possession of arms, and even residence within the walls, to a party of 3000 persons, exclusively, however, of the *ἱππεῖς*.—*Xen. Hell.* ii. 3, 11, 19; iv. 1. The number of their victims is variously given from 1300 to 1500. Compare *Hermann* and the authorities, pp. 344, 345.

state;¹ whilst a Spartan garrison, stationed in the Acropolis, afforded them an opportunity of consolidating their authority. Theramenes had urged the institution of an oligarchy, with the expectation of becoming a leader; but he had not a single qualification for the task—"he was always trying fresh expedients, and failed in all."

But still Sparta could not deem herself secure of the victory until she had removed Alcibiades out of the way, whose mind appeared sufficiently energetic to reanimate the hopes of a people rich in the glories of the past. As Alcibiades had been driven from the Chersonese, and had acquired a settlement in Grynium, a little village of Phrygia, Pharnabazus² was solicited by Lysander³ to lend his assistance towards effecting this object. The murderers, who were despatched on this mission, set fire to the house; Alcibiades rushed through the flames, but he was killed by the missiles of the assassins. Thus fell a man who combined in himself every element of the Athenian character; and no surer testimony to the extraordinary merits of Alcibiades can be required than that Athens now gave up its condition as hopeless.

The history of Spartan ascendancy⁴ extends from the battle of Ægos-potamos to the battle of Leuctra, a period of 34 years. Wherever the authority of Sparta was recognized, she placed a governor or *harmost* at the head of the faction which was hostile to the interests and liberty of the

¹ Οἱ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους συγγράψουσι καθ' οὓς πολιτεύουσιν.—*Xen. Hell.* 2. 3. 2.

² Alcibiades had detected the hostile designs of Cyrus the younger (which will be treated of hereafter) against his brother Artaxerxes, and desired to be escorted to Susa, in order to communicate the matter to the king. Pharnabazus, who was anxious for the merit of the discovery, was the more readily inclined to listen to the solicitations of Lysander.

³ Some suppose that Critias instigated the Spartans to transmit these orders to Lysander. Compare *Wachsmuth*, vol. ii. p. 318.

⁴ This ascendancy or *hegemony* (ἡγεμονία) was the source of internal wars, and whatever Greece might gain in outward importance, it lost in domestic freedom.—*Rotteck*, ii. 425.

country. The citadels were garrisoned by mercenaries; the contributions were excessive, for Spartan avarice was as insatiable as Spartan tyranny. Lysander commenced this system at Ephesus, his head-quarters in the campaigns against Alcibiades. At his instigation a large body of the oligarchists were butchered in Miletus; a like atrocity was perpetrated in Thasos; the demus was driven out of Samos. The fate of the exiles was still more deplorable.

As the external power of Athens had been destroyed by the issue of the Peloponnesian war, the simplicity of the Spartan character was vitiated, on the other hand, by its corrupting influence. All the virtues of the Spartans, with their political equality and their civil administration, were built upon their *poverty*. Though the first deviation from the simplicity of ancient manners, in the case¹ of Pausanias, was checked by the followers of Lycurgus, yet the Spartans frequently turned an envious eye towards the increasing glory and wealth of Athens. But the Peloponnesian war, which removed the armies of Sparta far from domestic control and inspection, afforded them frequent opportunities for pillage and extortion. On the termination of the war, all the cities in Ionia and on the Hellespont hastened to acknowledge the merits of Lysander by substantial presents; whilst the *harmosts* or governors, whom he everywhere established, shared with him the fruits of their exactions.²

Hence Lysander brought to Sparta a number of golden

¹ The Spartans were but ill adapted for living in peace. 'Ἀπώλυντο δὲ ἄρξαντες διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπίστασθαι σχολάζειν, κ. τ. λ.—*Arist. Pol.* ii. 6. 22.

² Thus the oracle, foretelling that avarice alone should work the fall of Sparta, received its fulfilment.

³ Ἄ φιλοχρηματία Σπάρταν ὀλεῖ, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν.

Large dowries, which Lycurgus had forbidden, became common, and as the rich contracted alliances and made bequests only among themselves, a distinction of ranks arose founded on wealth. The female sex were in possession of two-fifths of the landed property (*Arist. Pol.* ii. 6. 11).

crowns and many talents of bullion; and thus he laid the foundation of a public treasury. The will of Lysander and his party, in this respect, prevailed against the opposition of those who were animated by an attachment to the spirit of their ancient institutions. The austere simplicity and dignity of the Spartan character visibly gave way; and, as the Spartans could lay no claim to the taste and refinement of the Athenians, but remained insensible to the humanizing influence of civilization, the corruption must necessarily appear more revolting. We hardly know whether the Greeks, at this period, are more deserving of our pity or our contempt; for the Spartans everywhere met with ready instruments, as well as patient victims, of their tyranny: "men who," as Isocrates observes, "have left to future miscreants no possibility of outstripping them—to whom no cruelty was too great, no infamy too enormous—and who were not ashamed to crouch as slaves before *Helots*, in order that they might be able to maltreat their native country with impunity."¹ To the blood-thirsty Lysander, who trampled upon the rights of men, and esteemed oaths as play-things, altars were erected; whilst the virtuous Socrates, who spent his life in reforming the manners of his countrymen, was put to death by a judicial sentence.

Athens, however, soon emancipated itself from the tyranny of the Thirty, and consequently from the influence of Sparta. These tyrants² had established the reign of terror. They had armed three thousand of the citizens; and under pretence of getting rid of seditious demagogues, they either put to death (as Niceratus, son of Nicias, Leon, Antiphon), or sent into exile (as Thrasybulus, Anytus), whoever was imbued with sentiments favourable to the democracy. All the citizens, except the Three Thousand,³ were disarmed, the

¹ *Panegy.* See *Rotteck*, ii. 101, 102.

² Their appropriate name in the political vocabulary of the time would be *dynasts* (*Arist. Pol.* iv. 5. 1).—*Wachsmuth*, ii. 315.

³ Οἱ ἔξω καταλόγου, "Those out of the register."

munitions of war were deposited in the citadel, and they themselves forbidden to reside in the city. No one of these Three Thousand could be punished with death except by a decree of the council, mere tools of the Thirty; the Thirty alone were entitled to pronounce sentence on the remainder. In addition to the Spartan garrison already mentioned, a troop of horse was formed from the Athenian youth, who were to receive regular pay. The usurpation could only be maintained by means of corruption—the means of corruption could only be raised by confiscation of individual property—and the necessity of confiscation rendered it imperative to accuse as criminals whoever were supposed to be rich. The rich *Metæci* were first marked out for slaughter—each of the Thirty selecting one for execution. The exterminating sword was soon raised against the citizens themselves; “men’s lives were held at nought—to amass riches was the chief object.”¹ The dock-yards were demolished in order to cripple the commercial enterprise of the Athenians; all instruction in oratory was prohibited, and the pulpit on the Pnyx, which had commanded a view of the sea, was now turned towards the land-side, in order that that inspiring spectacle might no longer call up democratic emotions.²

Theramenes was the only one of the Thirty who expressed horror at these proceedings. His ambition had been disappointed by the overbearing character of Critias; and, being desirous, perhaps, of trying a change of character, he began to intrigue with the demus. His colleagues were determined, therefore, to remove him out of the way. The senate was convoked; a number of young men, with daggers concealed under their garments, were stationed in the neighbourhood; and Critias, the most violent and sanguinary³ of the Thirty, accused Theramenes of being a traitor to the

¹ *Lys. adv. Eratosth.* 387.

² Compare *Wachsmuth*, vol. ii. pp. 319-321.

³ As well as avaricious, *κλεπτίστατος τε καὶ βιαιώτατος*.—*Xen. Mem.* i. 2. 12.

oligarchy—a man of dangerous inconsistency, who only pursued the same course with his companions as long as the weather was fair and favourable. Theramenes replied, that he had only opposed the violence and injustice of his colleagues. Hereupon, Critias called in the armed men, and said, “it has been ordained in the new laws, that the Thirty should possess the power of condemning any one to death who was not in the list of the Three Thousand. I strike out, therefore, with your consent, the name of Theramenes, and we sentence him to death.” Upon these words, Theramenes sprang upon the altar. He was immediately torn from it, led away to prison, and there compelled to drink the juice of hemlock. The fortitude with which he met his death cannot reconcile us to the iniquities of his life; though it is on that account that he was overrated by the ancients, who held that species of fortitude in peculiar honour, and, therefore, so frequently defied the terrors of death by suicide.¹

The Thirty now exercised their tyranny without restraint; numbers left the city voluntarily, or were driven into exile. Lysander, the protector of the Thirty, seems to have issued a proclamation to the effect, that every person who neglected to deliver up Athenian fugitives, should be fined five talents.² But Thebes declared that, if any one of her citizens should fail to afford the refugees all the assistance in his power, he should be fined one talent; and she went so far as to allow Athenian troops to march through her territory. The Argives ordered the envoys who demanded the extra-tradition of the Athenian refugees, to quit their town before sunset, on the pain of being declared enemies.³ These were certain indications of rising dissatisfaction among the allies

¹ This is perceptible in the remarks of Aristotle and Cicero, of whom the latter affords a cruel insult to the memory of Socrates, when he couples his name with that of Theramenes (*Thuc.* i. 42).—*Wachsmuth*, vol. ii. p. 321.

² *Diodor.* xiv. 6.

³ *Demosth. de lib. Rhod.* 197. 7. 8. Compare *Wachsmuth*, vol. ii. p. 294.

of Sparta. The victory had been obtained by the united exertions of the confederates, but Sparta had appropriated all the advantages. The galling supremacy of Athens had been annihilated; but another, still more galling, had been substituted in its stead.

Thrasybulus, a young patriot of enterprising courage, was among the number of exiles; and, being secretly supported by Thebes, he ventured at the head of seventy men to make an attempt for the liberation of his country. He took possession of the fortress of Phyle, on the confines of Attica and Boeotia, and was there joined by a considerable number of refugees. The Thirty tyrants marched out, at the head of their retainers, to dislodge him; but the natural strength of the place, and a violent storm of snow compelled them to retreat. Several troops of horse, with Lacedæmonian mercenaries, were now despatched to keep them in check; but Thrasybulus surprised them in the night, and cut off 120 of their number in the pursuit. The Thirty, accompanied by the Three Thousand entrusted with the use of arms, removed to Eleusis, which, in case of necessity, seemed more capable of defence.

The increasing number of exiles encouraged Thrasybulus to attempt surprising the Piræus, the inhabitants of which part of the city had long submitted, with reluctance, to the tyranny of the Thirty. This he effected, and an engagement ensued, in which the Thirty were defeated, and Critias, the most violent of the tyrants, left among the number of the slain. Ten¹ were now elected, one from each tribe, in the place of the Thirty; but they acted in the spirit of their predecessors. After various skirmishes, generally unsuccessful, Sparta was called upon for assistance. Lysander immediately appeared with a land-army, and his brother at the head of a fleet. These movements, however, were

¹ Termed *decaduchi*. Some (as *Corn. Nep. Thrasyb. iii.*) have confounded these with the ten officers in the Piræus during the government of the Thirty. Compare *Xen. Hell. ii. 4. 38.*

counteracted by King Pausanias,¹ who having gained over a majority of the Ephori, appeared also with an army in Attica.

Jealous of an odious rival, Pausanias entered into secret negotiations with those in the Piræus. Diognotus, an Athenian citizen, excited his sympathy, by placing on his knees, and demanding protection for, the children of Nice-ratus the son, and Eucrates the brother, of the great Nicias, with whom he was connected by the hereditary ties of hospitality and friendship—charging, at the same time, the Thirty tyrants with a sanguinary desire to “destroy whatever was distinguished by birth, wealth, or virtue.”² A reconciliation was now effected. Thrasybulus and all the exiles were recalled, the peace with Sparta was agreed to afresh; and a general Amnesty, not, however, including the Thirty, was published, and generally adhered to. The Athenians went so far in their generosity, as to levy, by a contribution, 100 talents, for the repayment of a sum which the Thirty had borrowed from the Lacedæmonians, in order to maintain their usurpation. The Thirty were afterwards put to death; and under the archonship of Euclides,³ the Solonian constitution was restored, and the court of Areo-pagus re-established (403 B. C.). This Amnesty has ever been considered as the triumph of Athenian moderation and prudence, particularly when we consider the intolerable provocations afforded by the Thirty. And let it be recollected, that it did not *exclude* the Thirty, except they refused

¹ The jealousy entertained by the Spartan monarch, Pausanias, against Lysander, gave occasion to an arrangement, which ended in the triumph of the democratical party, and the proclaiming of an amnesty. *Xen.* ii. 4. 38. This amnesty extended even to all illegal acts committed during the preceding convulsions, forbidding all prosecution for the same. In order to weaken the influence of Lysander, the dynasts were also removed from the towns on the western coast of Asia, in which his adherents were most numerous.—See *Hermann*. p. 346. *Wachsmuth*, Vol. ii. p. 314.

² *Lys. Adv. Pol.*

³ It was now required, in strictness, to add, “from the Archonship of Euclides” to every law.—*Dem. in Macart.* 1067. 14.

to give an account of their conduct;¹ whilst it extended to their children, who were, accordingly, permitted to remain in the town.

Twenty men were now appointed as a provisional committee, to determine upon the plan of administration.² A senate was then elected, and five hundred Nomothetæ were appointed to restore, or, in case of need, to remodel the constitution and laws of Solon. That the adherents of the oligarchy were not altogether extinct, may be collected from an unsuccessful proposition of Phormisius, that landholders only should be admitted to a share in the government; a proposition which would have excluded five thousand citizens from a participation in the administration.³ The democracy was further fortified, by declaring it capital for any person to aspire to the tyranny, or to retain possession of any office beyond the appointed time.⁴ It was further enacted, that no unwritten ordinance should be used, and that no decree of the senate, or the body of the people, should be paramount to the law; and that no decree against a private individual should have force, until it had received the assent of six thousand citizens.⁵ All laws, passed antecedent to, or during the archonship of Euclides (not framed by the oligarchs), were declared to have effect without exception; but those passed subsequently were only to commence operation from the day of their enactment, unless a particular day should have been specified for that purpose. The Ionian alphabet was formally introduced.

¹ The oath ran as follows. *Καὶ οὐ μνησικακήσω τῶν πολιτῶν οὐδενὶ πλὴν τῶν τριάκοντα, καὶ τῶν ἑνδεκα* (officers of the Thirty) *οὐδὲ τούτων, ὃς ἂν ἐθέλοι εὐθύνας δίδόναι τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἧς ἤρξεν.*—*Andoc. de Myst. 43.*

² *Andoc. de Myst. 39, 40.*

⁴ *Andoc. 47. Cf. 13.*

⁵ *Andoc. 42.*

³ *Dion. Hal. de Lys. § 32.*

⁶ *Demosth. in Timoc. 713.*

CHAPTER XXI.

EXPEDITION OF CYRUS.

Cyrus the Younger—Clearchus—Battle of Cunaxa—Treachery of the Persians—Retreat of the Ten Thousand under Xenophon.

OUR attention will now be directed for a short time to the affairs of the Persian empire. Cyrus the younger, the favourite of his mother Parysatis, and the hereditary satrap of Lydia, Phrygia, and Cappadocia, had long been bent upon the dethronement of his brother Artaxerxes, from whom he had received insult, and apprehended danger. For that purpose, he had ingratiated himself with many talented Greeks, by the liberality of his conduct. Amongst this number, no one was of greater importance to him than Clearchus, formerly *harmost*¹ of Byzantium. Being fully initiated into the views of Cyrus, he had already organized in secrecy a well-disciplined army of Greek soldiers in the Thracian Chersonese. But we must remark, that Clearchus was not at the head of a mere band of mercenaries; for he had received orders from Sparta to join the expedition,² and the Grecian fleet was sent to Cilicia, to support the operations of the land army.³

In Thessaly, and the Greek cities of Asia Minor, Cyrus had also enlisted Greeks into his service under various pretences. When the time arrived for active operations, he assembled, exclusive of his barbarian forces, no less than 10,000 Greek hoplites, in addition to 3000 targeteers and archers. The splendid armour, and the gallant bearing of these troops, already inspired the barbarians with awe; and in a review before Epyaxa, queen of Cilicia, their military

¹ Ἀρμόστης, *governor*, from ἀρμόζω.

² Ὑπηγετεῖν Κύρῳ πάντα κελεύοντες—*Plut. Artax. vi.*

³ *Xen. Hell. iii. 1. 1. Diod. xiv. 19.*

evolutions struck such a terror into the spectators, that Cyrus considered this as the best and surest omen of the success of his plan.

From Lydia, Cyrus led the Greeks still farther into the interior of Asia, but did not as yet venture to give any definite explanation about the object of his expedition. The 10,000, therefore, still continued their march; and even when they began to suspect the truth, Cyrus succeeded in repressing their murmurs, until they arrived at the river Euphrates. Cyrus was now obliged to develop his real intentions. The Greeks had already gone too far to be able to return without his assistance; and the promise of a still higher remuneration, induced them to follow him unconditionally.

When they were approaching the plain of Cunaxa, Cyrus received intelligence that the king was at hand with a vast army. He immediately mounted his horse, and ordered his troops to arm and fall into order of battle. In the afternoon they perceived a dust like a white cloud overspreading the plain, and indicating the approach of the enemy. The front of the army, which was 1,200,000 strong, was covered with innumerable chariots armed with scythes; the cavalry, wearing white corslets, were commanded by Tissaphernes; the Persians carried wicker bucklers, the Egyptians wooden ones reaching to the feet, whilst a multitude of nations, protected by no defensive armour, could only be effective at a distance. The centre—where the king was posted, surrounded by a chosen body of cavalry—reached beyond the left wing of the army of Cyrus. Cyrus, who observed this, ordered Clearchus to advance opposite the king's guard; but Clearchus was unwilling to withdraw the Greeks from the Euphrates which protected them, lest they should be surrounded by the enemy. When the battle commenced, the Greeks struck such terror into the right wing of the barbarians opposed to them, by their shining armour, the fierceness of their coun-

tenances, the clang of their shields, and their martial pæans, that they fled at the first onset; and Artaxerxes, perceiving their ardour in pursuit, ordered his men to wheel to the left, and attack the rear of the enemy. But Cyrus, whose impatience prevented him from taking due advantage of his position, singled out his brother to mortal combat, and was killed by his attendants. After the death of Cyrus, the whole of his Persian forces took to flight; but the Greeks, having, on their part, defeated the troops opposed to them, remained victorious on the field of battle (400 B. C.).

Meanwhile Clearchus had returned from the pursuit of the barbarians whom he had routed; and the troops of Artaxerxes, incapable of withstanding the Grecian spear, fled wherever the phalanx advanced. Having arrived at their camp in the beginning of the night, they found their tents pillaged, and their provisions destroyed; so that they were obliged to pass the night without supper, wondering that neither Cyrus himself appeared, nor any of his messengers. At the approach of day, they received intelligence concerning the death of Cyrus; and they now called upon Ariæus, a distinguished Persian, to contend for the throne; but Ariæus effected a reconciliation on his own account with the King, and retreated with his troops to Ionia.

Tissaphernes now entered into negotiations with the Greeks—for they had been called upon in vain to surrender—and promised them, in the name of the king, a free retreat, and a market for provisions; but this apparent kindness only served to mask the most outrageous perfidy. The treacherous Persian invited Clearchus and the other generals to a conference in his tent, under pretext of allaying the unfortunate jealousies which existed between the two armies; and, as they came unarmed and unsuspecting, they were cruelly butchered. The satrap expected that the Greeks, being deprived of their generals, would immediately submit; but here again he was disappointed.

Upon the first intelligence of this treachery, the Greeks indeed doubted their deliverance. They were now about 1200 miles from home, on the eastern bank of the Tigris—totally unacquainted with the regions through which they must return—surrounded by impassable rivers; without leaders, or the means of subsistence—encompassed with enemies on every side, and yet without cavalry to pursue the barbarians whom they might defeat. Xenophon, the Athenian, whom the friendship of Proxenus, the Bœotian, had recommended to the notice of Cyrus, stood forward, inspired, as he told them, by a favourable dream; and he exhorted them urgently not to yield, without a struggle, to the barbarians. “Their perfidy had rendered them odious to the gods, who were the umpires of the contest, and whose assistance could make the cause of justice and valour prevail over every superiority of strength and numbers.” His speech animated the Greeks with fresh confidence; and they now proceeded to the election of new generals.

Having burnt all their waggons and baggage, in order to render their movements more expeditious, the Greeks continued their journey under the incessant attacks of Tissaphernes. A company of fifty horsemen was raised, and 200 Rhodians were drawn from the ranks, who furnished themselves with slings and leaden balls, in order to repel the attacks of the Persian cavalry and archers. The barbarians could now only harass them when they were passing a bridge or a defile; but this danger was obviated, by detaching six companies of 100 each, who might cover the passage, and fill up the vacancy, without exposing the centre. Not being in a condition to cross the Tigris, they determined to strike northwards into the mountains of the Carduchii. Tissaphernes did not follow them into the country of these warlike and independent mountaineers, who had always been a terror to the Persians. The Greeks now continued their march westwards to Ionia, and crossed the rivers Tigris and Euphrates near their sources.

For the space of seven days the Greeks were occupied in endeavouring to force a passage through a mountain-defile to the river Centrites—suffering from the long bows and arrows of the Carduchii, whose irresistible points penetrated the firmest shields and corslets. Here again they met with fresh difficulties. On the farther bank of the river stood the troops of the satrap of Armenia; and in the rear they were threatened by the Carduchii, from the mountains they had just quitted. – The Greeks, however, anticipated the treachery of the Armenian satrap by a bold attack; but the deep snow and the extreme cold were still more terrible. Many fell victims, losing their sight by the glare of the snow, and their toes and fingers by the intense-ness of the cold; but Xenophon did every thing in his power to animate those who were labouring under fatigue.

In their further progress the Greeks came to the abodes of the Chalybes, a race of free and warlike mountaineers. As the Greeks experienced a gallant resistance, they were obliged to make a diversion from the north to the north-west. At last they arrived at the Euxine, and obtained from the top of a mountain a distant prospect of the sea. The cry of “the sea! the sea!” led the rear to suppose that the vanguard had been attacked, or was threatened with some new danger; and they advanced, with all possible expedition, to the assistance of their companions. Never did the weary voyager look with more pleasure upon the land, than the Greeks did upon the sea. With tears of joy they embraced each other, raised up a trophy, and stretched forth their hands to the delivering gods. After a skirmish with the Colchians, in which the Greeks displayed their usual superiority in courage and discipline, they came to the Greek city Trapezus (Trebisond), where they gave expression to their joy, by sacrifices to Jupiter the preserver, and the celebration of games. At Cerasus the Greeks remained ten days, and it appeared, from a review of the army, that they still mustered 8,600 strong.

In the prosecution of their journey through Asia Minor, the Greeks had still difficulties to contend with, not only from the discord that broke out among themselves, but also from the intrigues of their own countrymen. But the discretion and moderation of Xenophon were no less salutary in repressing these evils, than his courage and decision had been at an earlier period in baffling the efforts of the open enemy. His project of colonizing the southern shores of the Euxine miscarried through the jealousy of his opponents, who treated it as a scheme to enhance his own fame, and render the army dependant upon himself.

When the Greeks had crossed over into Europe, no other resource was left them, except to enter into the service of the Thracian prince Seuthes.¹ After a month spent in his service, they were recalled to Asia by two Spartan legates, to serve in the war that had broken out between Sparta and Persia. Upon the failure of the expedition of Cyrus, Tissaphernes had lost no time in renewing those claims to the western coast of Asia, which had acquired such force from the former concessions of Sparta.² But the latter refused to relinquish the sovereignty of these coasts, and the treasure which she derived from it. Therefore, when the Ionians applied to her for assistance, an army, furnished by the Grecian cities in alliance with Sparta, was sent to their aid, under the command of the rude and dissipated Thimbron (399 B. C.).

Xenophon, on his return home, was banished from his native city, Athens, for the sake of pleasing Persia. But, at the Olympic games, he was saluted as a victor for conducting the Retreat of the Ten Thousand;³ and thus the voice of all Greece, elevated above the conflict of party-

¹ The Greeks had marched 1155 parasangs, or leagues, in 215 days. They had been absent fifteen months.

² *Εὐθὺς ἤξιον τὰς Ἰωνικὰς πόλεις ἀπάσας ταυτῇ ἐπηκόους εἶναι.*—*Xen. Hell.* iii. 1. 3. See p. 247 *supra*.

³ This retreat forms the subject of his *Anabasis* (*ἀνά, sursum; βαίνω, eo*, the battle being fought in Upper Asia.)

spirit, or the violence of interested passions, awarded its well-earned praise to an enterprise to which history affords us no parallel.

CHAPTER XXII.

AGESILAUS IN ASIA.

Successes of Agesilaus—Death of Tissaphernes—Designs of Agesilaus—Recall.

KING Agis died about this time in Sparta, and was succeeded by his brother Agesilaus. Soon after the commencement of his reign, he was employed in crushing a domestic conspiracy, at the head of which was Cinadon, an ancient Spartan in virtue and courage—who, leaguings with those who laboured under like civil disabilities with himself, determined to extort by force that which was unjustly withheld (397 B. C.). Agesilaus then directed his attention towards repressing the dissatisfaction that manifested itself among the dependant states. Athens had, it is true, exercised dominion over the islands and cities; but then she had also benefited them by her extensive commerce. But the dominion of Sparta was accompanied with no commercial advantages; her discipline and her system of government were not at all adapted for an extensive empire. "Permanent usages," observes Thucydides, "are suited to a peaceful state; but those which are compelled to engage in vast undertakings, require a corresponding degree of inventive power."¹ Though Sparta levied, by contributions, an unusual revenue, amounting to a thousand talents, yet her public treasury was never well filled;² a circumstance which could

¹ Thuc. i. 71.

² Arist. Pol. ii. 6. 23.

only be ascribed to a badly regulated financial system, and the total absence of public honesty.

Agésilau8, however, was well adapted for the emergency. He adhered rigorously to the Spartan mode of life—the voluptuousness of Asia could make no impression upon him. He never assumed the haughtiness of a monarch; he was affable to his inferiors; and in order to prevent any obstacles being thrown in the way, he shewed all respect to the Ephori and senators.¹ With him the struggles between the kings and Ephori ceased, and the latter attained an undisputed supremacy in the government.² The governed were thus reconciled with the governors; and the governors with each other, to the great advantage of the whole. On the other hand, the endeavours of Lysander to remove those constitutional impediments by which he was excluded from the chief direction of affairs, were successfully counteracted by Agésilau8, who treated him on all occasions with the most galling ridicule.³

Agésilau8, however, did not limit his views to the mere dominion of Greece, but wished to employ the greatness of his native country for more extensive purposes. After the downfall of Athens, Sparta naturally became exposed to the jealousy and resentment of Persia, by her conquests on the coasts of Asia, and more particularly by her open participation in the rebellion of Cyrus, which has been already recorded. Upon the retreat of the Greeks, in that ever-memorable expedition, Tissaphernes attacked the Æolian

¹ Compare *Arist. Pol.* ii. 6. 14, *δημαγωγεῖν αὐτοὺς* (i. e. the Ephori) *ἡναγκάζοντο καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς*.

² Particularly after the kings and princes became adventurers on foreign service at the head of mercenaries (Archidamus III. B. C. 338 at Tarentum; Agis II. 332 in Crete; Cleonymus, 303 at Thurium), or parasites at foreign courts.

³ Agésilau8 appointed him his *κρωδαίτης*. Such insults must have been peculiarly irritating to Lysander, who was formed by nature to be the "flatterer of the great" (*Θεραπειυτικός τῶν δυνατῶν*, *Phil. Lys.* 2); as they would convince him that Agésilau8, over and above the insults, had a thorough insight into his character.

cities, without any formal declaration of war. Accordingly, a Peloponnesian army of 5,000 men, reinforced by 6,000 who had been engaged in the expedition of Cyrus, were sent, under the command of Thimbron, to the assistance of these cities. Thimbron took or regained the towns of Pergamus, Teuthrania, Halisarnia, Myrina, Cymé, and Grynium; but the strong walls of Larissa, a city of Troas, baffled all his efforts. The licentious conduct of his soldiery occasioned complaints to be preferred against him to the senate of Sparta by her allies, and, in consequence, Thimbron was recalled and disgraced. Dercyllidas was sent out to supersede him, and he approved himself a man of courage and energy. But the want of compliance in his Asiatic troops caused his movements to be somewhat dilatory; for how were courage and perseverance to be instilled into these degenerate voluptuaries?¹ All eyes were, therefore, fixed upon Agesilaus, who equalled him in merit, and who has far surpassed him in renown (398-397 B. C.).

Although the Spartan kings had not been accustomed to appear in such remote expeditions, Agesilaus, reinforced by 3,000 Spartans and 6,000 foreign troops, put himself at the head of the army that was now fighting in Asia (396 B. C.). He was the first Grecian king, since the reign of Agamemnon, who led the united forces of his country to make war in Asia. He sent forth a summons to the Greeks of the mother country to join the expedition against the barbarians, in the same manner as in a national war; but the summons was only partially obeyed.² Lysander accompanied the king, as one of his council, hoping to re-establish the power that he had previously possessed in the Asiatic cities. But

¹ Xenophon, though he lays great stress upon the important effects which resulted from the exertions of Agesilaus in military affairs, and the love he gained in Asia, cannot disguise the fact, that at the beginning of the war the Asiatic Greeks displayed cowardice and a reluctance to fight under the banners of Sparta.—*Hell.* iii. 2. 17.

² Argos, Corinth, Athens, and Thebes, refused compliance.—*Xen. Hell.*

Agesilaus was not the man to be satisfied with the mere name of supreme commander; and Lysander, observing this, soon afterward left the army in disgust. Since the unjustifiable conduct of King Agis (p. 232), the Spartan monarchs had been attended in the field by a council of ten;¹ but Agesilaus got the number increased to thirty, in order to diminish its importance.

At first Tissaphernes renewed the truce with Agesilaus, which had been concluded at an earlier period with Dercylidas, and acceded to the object which Agesilaus professed to have in view; "that the Greeks in Asia might enjoy the same liberty as their brethren in Europe." Being encouraged, however, by numerous reinforcements from Upper Asia, he informed Agesilaus that he must either quit Asia or prepare for war. Agesilaus made no remonstrance, but merely sent a message, "thanking him, that by his perjury he had procured fresh succour for the Greeks—the succour of the Gods." At the same time, he ordered all the cities to furnish troops and to deposit provisions on the road to Caria, the favourite residence of Tissaphernes, and the depository of his treasures. He did everything that it was possible to effect with an army composed of such various and ill assorted materials, and brought it into a high state of discipline; though attacks like these, without native strength and national feeling in the back-ground, might rouse, indeed, but could not destroy, the Persian colossus.²

Tissaphernes, accordingly, posted his army for the defence of Caria; but Agesilaus, quite unexpectedly, invaded Phrygia, the satrapy of Pharnabazus—traversing it in every direction, and reaping a rich booty. He was obliged, however, to return to Ephesus, in order to organize a body of cavalry for the purpose of repelling the Persians who hung upon

¹ Frequently hostile to the king. Διόπερ ἐξέπεμπον συμπρεσβευτὰς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς, κ. τ. λ.—*Arist. Pol.* ii. 6. 20.

² Compare *Wachsmuth*, vol. ii. p. 297, 298.

his rear. This he effected by encouraging the inhabitants of the country to train up their best horses to the discipline of the field, and by exempting wealthy citizens from duty, provided they furnished a horseman,¹ properly equipped to discharge their duty. In order to impress the Greeks with a thorough contempt for the enemy, he ordered the Phrygian prisoners to be stripped and exposed to sale. Their effeminate softness caused the Greeks to look upon them as nothing superior to an army of women (395 B. C.).

The following spring Tissaphernes was again deceived with respect to the real intentions of Agesilaus. Fearful of being deceived by a second feint, he again protected Caria; but Agesilaus suddenly appeared at Sardis, the centre of the Persian power, and defeated, on the banks of the Pactolus, the Persian cavalry, which were separated from the infantry. Tissaphernes shut himself up within the walls of Sardis, where he enjoyed inglorious ease, while Agesilaus was ravaging the provinces of Artaxerxes and reaping a booty amounting to seventy talents. The Persian empire had never as yet been threatened with such imminent danger. The indignation of Artaxerxes fell upon Tissaphernes; and the satrap atoned for his defeat with the loss of his life. Tithraustes, who was sent to take off his head, allured him to a conference, in order to effect it; and thus, by a providential retribution, he met with the same fate as he had inflicted on Clearchus and his colleagues. The Greeks rejoiced at the downfall of this "enemy of the Hellenes," as their writers term him; whence we may gather that the charge of treason and perfidy brought against him was unfounded.

The affairs of Persia, however, did not improve under the administration of his successor Tithraustes. This satrap

¹ The difficulty of inspiring the Asiatic Greeks with ardour and confidence may be conceived from the eagerness with which they availed themselves of this permission. "Ὅσπερ ἂν τις τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀποθανόντα προθύμως ζητοίη.—*Xen. Hell.* iii. 4. 15.

made a proposal of peace to Agesilaus, in the name of Artaxerxes—urging that the king had been too long deceived by the artifices of Tissaphernes, who was now happily removed out of the way. The proposal was, that all the Greek cities should be free upon the payment of their ancient and customary tribute. This proposal might have been made merely for the sake of gaining time; but Agesilaus replied that he could give no definite answer until he had corresponded with the government at home, as he could not remove his forces without the express command of the republic. Tithraustes then endeavoured to divert the course of hostilities, and he purchased the tranquillity of Lydia by a large sum from Agesilaus. In the mean time, Sparta did everything on her part to unite all her disposable force under the command of Agesilaus—investing him, contrary to all precedent, with the command of the fleet,¹ as well as the land-army (394 B. C.).

Before the opening of a new campaign, Agesilaus endeavoured to induce Pharnabazus to revolt, by promising to make him an independent prince in his own satrapy. Though this negotiation did not succeed, yet enough transpired to convince Agesilaus that the Persian empire was destitute of a living centre, and that each individual satrap was ready, at any favourable opportunity, to commence an independent existence. Pharnabazus was successively driven from every corner of his valuable province. The inferior satraps courted the protection of Agesilaus; Ariæus and the barbarians, who followed the standard of Cyrus, might easily be won over to his interests; Cotys or Corylas, the tyrant of Paphlagonia, requested that his invincible cavalry might be associated with the arms of Sparta. Agesilaus determined, therefore, early in the spring, to abandon the war on the

¹ This was in opposition to the established practice, since the traitorous conduct of Pausanias. *Ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν οὐσι στρατηγοῖς αἰδίοις* (by virtue of their office, p. 127), *ἡ ναυαρχία σχεδὸν ἐτίρα βασιλεία καθίστηται*.—*Arist. Pol.* ii. 6. 22.

sea-coasts, and to press farther into the country; being convinced that all the nations in his rear would revolt from Persia. But while he was aspiring after this important conquest, he was recalled to Greece to deliver his native country from the dangers that threatened her (394 B. C.).

CHAPTER XXIII.

CONFEDERACY AGAINST SPARTA.

Confederacy against Sparta—Victory of Conon—Battle of Coronea—Walls of Athens rebuilt—Peace of Antalcidas.

THE haughty conduct of Sparta had excited feelings of general dissatisfaction among the allies. The powerful Samos had been reduced by Lysander, immediately after the capitulation of Athens.¹ The Messenians of Naupactus were expelled (401 B. C.), and their city was filled with Achæans. Elis, which had persisted in its neutrality, was commanded, in the same year, to enfranchise her Periæci, in order that her refusal might furnish a pretext for the interference of Sparta. The event corresponded with the calculations. In the third year of the war, Elis was compelled to emancipate the Periæci—to pull down her walls—surrender her ships—and renew her alliance with Sparta.² In the west, Sparta endeavoured to strengthen the tyranny at Syracuse, and assisted Dionysius with a fleet in quelling an insurrection, in order to secure his alliance (396 B. C.).³ During the Peloponnesian war, when she set foot on the shores of Asia Minor, she declared that, if the great king would assist her, she was ready to betray into his hands all the Greeks in that quarter, many of whom had thrown

¹ *Xen. Hell.* ii. 3. 6.

² *Ibid.* iii. 2. 1.

³ *Diod.* xiv. 70.

themselves into her arms with a generous confidence.¹ In the mean time she appropriated to herself all the contributions which Athens had exacted from her dependencies. She afforded direct encouragement to the oligarchies, and established garrisons and harmosts in all the states which had lately been dependent on Athens.

Thebes now became the point of re-union for all who wished to see the oppressive supremacy of Sparta annihilated. She complained loudly that Sparta had appropriated exclusively to herself all the advantages of a victory that had been gained by the united efforts of the confederates. Thebes was afterwards joined by Corinth; and the Athenian Conon, who stood at the head of the Persian fleet, made war upon the Spartans by sea. The very fact of this coalition² is a convincing proof of the extreme tyranny of Sparta. The necessity must have been great which could have overruled all private feelings, and united the bitterest enemies. Sparta, who had availed herself of Persian subsidies for the subjugation of her brethren, could hardly complain that Thebes and Athens did the same to effect their own independence³ (394 B. C.).

In the mean time, Persian gold was flowing into Greece,⁴ in order to divert the operations of Agesilaus in Asia; and Thebes soon met with an occasion for declaring open war. She roused the Locri Opuntii, a fierce and uncivilized

¹ *Thuc.* viii. 18. 37. 58. As early as B. C. 410, Lacedæmon, in return for certain subsidies, had ceded to the great king the states on the coasts of Asia Minor, which had continued free from the Persian yoke, whilst under the protection of Athens (*Thuc.* viii. 5). When, however, the ill success of Cyrus the younger had altered the Lacedæmonian policy in that quarter, Sparta attempted to bring these states again under her protectorate; and this object appeared almost secured by the successful campaigns of Thimbron (B. C. 399), Dercyllidas (398), and Agesilaus (396-394), *Xen. Hell.* iii. 2. 19, when Agesilaus was recalled.

² The comic poet Theopompus, compared the Spartans with the cheating cup-bearers, as they had first offered the sweetest beverage, viz. liberty, and then poured vinegar into it.—*Plut. Lys.* 13.

³ See p. 287. note.

⁴ Timocrates, the Rhodian, was sent by Tithraustes to Greece, with about fifty talents of silver.—*Xen. Hell.* iii. 5. 1.

people, to war against the Phocians, the faithful allies of Sparta; and they lent aid to the former, well knowing that Sparta would accord it to the latter. Sparta seized the occasion with avidity; and Lysander was commissioned to form an army out of the warlike tribes that occupied the north of Greece. Having penetrated into Bœotia, he gained Lebadea, Orchomenus, and laid siege to Haliartus, second only to Thebes in point of strength. Lysander sent a messenger to hasten the arrival of Pausanias the Spartan king, who had set out at the head of 6000 Peloponnesians, to co-operate in the expedition. The messenger, however, was intercepted by the Thebans, who immediately set out in the dead of night, and arrived at the gates of Haliartus while it was yet dark. A detachment was posted in ambush without the walls, and the rest formed in battle-array with the inhabitants behind the gates. The Spartans, flushed with the recent victory, and disdaining to wait for the arrival of Pausanias who still continued in the neighbourhood of Platææ, demanded to be led against the town. The different gates flew open at the same moment—the Thebans and Haliartians rushed forth with incredible fury. The Spartans were repulsed, and their terror was increased by the Thebans posted in ambush. They were pursued with great slaughter, leaving a thousand dead on the field of battle, and Lysander among the number (394 B. C.).

Pausanias, having received intelligence concerning the defeat, now arrived with a Peloponnesian army, but did not venture upon an engagement. Perceiving that it was fruitless to attempt the siege of Haliartus, he recovered the corpse of Lysander and the bodies of the dead, along with some prisoners, on condition of evacuating the Bœotian territory. On his return he was tried, and he only escaped capital punishment by flying to Tegea. The confederacy between Corinth, Thebes, Argos, and Athens, now became more prominent; and it was joined by Eubœa, Acarnania, Leucas, Ambracia, Chalcis, and the principal cities of

Thessaly. Corinth was fixed upon as the centre of their councils, and as the point for commencing and supporting the attack upon the Peloponnesus.

Such was the posture of affairs when Agesilaus was recalled from his Asiatic triumphs, and yielded, without a murmur, to the command of the republic. Having left behind him some troops for the protection of the cities, he crossed over the Hellespont into Europe, by the same route as Xerxes when he invaded Greece—carrying with him a thousand talents, after defraying the necessary expences of the war. When the king of Macedonia, upon being asked with respect to granting a passage, answered, that he would take it into consideration; Agesilaus exclaimed: "He may consider about it, in the mean time we will march forwards." The cavalry, which he had formed in Asia, enabled him to complete a victory near Pharsalus, over the celebrated cavalry of Thessaly, which were repulsed and put to flight by his heavy-armed infantry. Agesilaus, however, was soon alarmed by unexpected intelligence from the east. We have already mentioned, that after the unfortunate battle of Ægos-potamos, Conon had escaped with eight ships to Cyprus, where, by the recommendations of Evagoras, king of the island, and Pharnabazus, to Artaxerxes—he was enabled to equip a very considerable fleet from the various islands and seaports of Asia. This he united with the barbarian squadrons commanded by Pharnabazus; and the combined armament having doubled the northern point of Rhodes, fell in with the Spartan fleet off Cnidus, and defeated it. They captured fifty galleys; and from the date of this defeat Sparta may be considered as having lost the empire of the sea (394 B. C.).

Agesilaus received the intelligence as he was entering Boeotia; but, dreading the unfavourable impression that it would make upon his troops, he circulated the rumour of a victory, crowning himself with a chaplet of flowers, and concealing his own feelings under the plea of mourning over the loss of

his relations; for Pisander, the admiral, had been killed. He fell in with the allies near Coronea. The battle was sharp and bloody; the Thebans bore down everything before them; but the troops commanded by Agesilaus, repulsed the left wing, consisting of Argives and Athenians. The Thebans wheeled about in order to join their allies and rally; but Agesilaus, instead of allowing them to pass, in order that he might attack their rear and flanks, boldly assailed them in front. This was the most desperate part of the engagement. The shock was terrible. "Though no cry was heard," says the historian, "yet there was no silence; it was the noise of rage and battle." The Thebans effected their passage, yet could not rally their allies; and they were compelled to ask for the restoration of their dead—a tacit acknowledgment of defeat. Agesilaus, who had received several wounds in the engagement, returned to Sparta; and Antalcidas judiciously observed, that "Agesilaus had reaped the fruits of the instructions which he had given to the Thebans in the art of war by his campaigns."¹

In Corinth, the aristocratic and democratic parties were involved in a struggle. The former, when their country was made the seat of war, were desirous of concluding a peace; but the latter, headed by Timolus and Polyannes, anticipated the design by a horrid massacre of their opponents, on the Eucleian festival. They were supported, not only by the troops, but by the intelligence of such men as the Athenian generals Iphicrates and Chabrias.² The aristocratic party, being compelled to fly, applied to Sparta for assistance; and thus the war was embittered with fresh causes of animosity. With the assistance of the Spartans, they made war upon their native city; Lechæum was sur-

¹ *Plut. Ages.* 26. Cf. *Lacon. Apophth.* vi. 801.

² The Peltasts, as organized by Iphicrates, effected a marked change in the operations of the war; they cut down a whole Spartan *Mora*, or regiment; and, upon the whole, the Hoplites of Sparta no longer inspired the same terror as formerly.

prised and betrayed into their hands;¹ and they also temporarily occupied the Corinthian towns Crommyon, Epiecia, and Sidus, so that the territory of Corinth was now almost confined to the city itself.

These struggles by land, however, led to nothing decisive, whilst, on the other hand, the progress of Conon, after the victory near Cnidus, was highly prejudicial to the Spartans. Most of the cities and islands fell off from the confederacy, and expelled the Harmosts. The whole western coast of Lesser Asia was detached for ever from their dominion. Scarcely any resistance was offered, except by Dercyllidas, who put the towns of Sestos and Abydos in such a posture of defence as to baffle the attempts of Conon and Pharnabazus. Finally, Conon proceeded with his fleet to Athens, reducing the Cyclades and Cythera, and ravaging the coast of Laconia during his voyage. He placed Athens in a condition, by means of Persian treasure, to rebuild its walls, which was carried into execution with great zeal and demonstrations of joy (393 B. C.).

Nothing could well be more irritating to the Spartans than the rising prosperity of Athens. Determined to sacrifice the cause of their common country rather than lose their supremacy in Greece, they entered into negotiations with the Persian Tiribazus, who had succeeded Tithraustes in the government of the southern provinces of Asia Minor. Unfortunately their projects were forwarded by the unjustifiable ambition of Conon, who, having solicited a Persian squadron from Pharnabazus, for the avowed purpose of infesting the territories of Sparta and her allies, had employed it in attempting to win over Chios, Lesbos, the Cyclades, and even the cities of Asia Minor, to acknowledge the ancient sovereignty of Athens (390). Conon was, therefore, represented by the Spartan ambassador as having violated all confidence by his perfidious ingratitude, and as having abused the generosity

¹ Ἐν Λεχαιῶν προδοσία.—*Plat. Menexen.* 245, E.

of Persia for the purpose of increasing the hereditary enmity between Sparta and Athens. He was soon afterwards imprisoned or put to death. On the other hand, the Athenians were favoured by Struthas, who had been sent by the king to attend to sea affairs, and supersede Tiribazus. They also supported Evagoras, in Cyprus, who had revolted from Artaxerxes; and, by the assistance of Pharnabazus, they were enabled to recover their ascendancy in the Hellespont. Thus the war, having almost ceased entirely in Greece Proper, was transferred to the sea and the coasts of Asia (389 B. C.).

In the mean time, Antalcidas, crafty, skilful, and as regardless of the means by which he accomplished his designs as he was indifferent to the honour of Sparta and the maintenance of Grecian nationality among the barbarians,¹ was appointed to the command of the fleet. Unlike Agesilaus, who boasted that he went forth as the monarch of European nations to chastise an Asiatic despot, Antalcidas endeavoured to conciliate the barbarians. He offered, in the name of Sparta, to cede to the king the Greek towns on the western coast of Asia Minor, on condition of obtaining his assistance in restoring the peace of the Grecian continent by force of arms, and vindicating the independence of all the states of Greece, both great and small. In this he succeeded beyond all expectation; for Artaxerxes had justly taken offence at the succour afforded by Athens to Evagoras, the Cyprian revolter. Envoys from Athens, Thebes, Corinth and Argos, indignantly refused to subscribe the preliminary conditions drawn up by Antalcidas;² but the latter had effectually gained the confidence of the barbarians. Having equipped a fleet of eighty sail, by means of Persian support, he drove the Athenians again from the Hellespont, and deprived them of the revenues thence accruing (389 B. C.).

Now the peace, usually called the peace of Antalcidas,

¹ *Plut. Ages.* 21, 22.

² *Xen. Hell.* iv. 8. 13—15.

was promulgated in the name of the Persian king (388 B. C.).¹ By this treaty Artaxerxes was recognized as arbitrator in the internal affairs of Greece—a character which he maintained to his death.² Its conditions were as follows: “Artaxerxes, the king, thinks it right, 1, that the Greek cities of Asia, and those of the islands of Clazomenæ and Cyprus, should continue in subjection to him; 2, that the remaining Greek cities, small as well as great, should remain independent, except Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, which, as of old, should belong to the Athenians. 3, He will make war by land and by sea upon those Greeks that do not accept this peace in conjunction with those who do accept it.” A proclamation was issued directing all who chose to accept the peace offered by the king to assemble for that purpose; and the majority of the Grecian states immediately declared their assent to it (387 B. C.).³

The Spartans, by concluding this peace, tarnished the honour of all Greece, in order to protect themselves against the powerful confederacy of Thebes, Argos, and Athens. The barbarians were now furnished with a pretext for perpetual interference in Grecian affairs; yet Sparta had steadily kept her own interests in view. The first article only abandoned what Sparta could not maintain—the dominion of the sea; but the second deprived its rival, Athens, of its territorial power and resources. By granting independence to the inferior states, Sparta hoped to dissolve the alliance among towns of the same district.⁴ The Thebans

¹ *Xenoph. Hellen.* v. 1. 28.

² Plutarch denies the name of a peace to this act of perfidy and insult to the whole of Greece, and declares that no war ever entailed more humiliating consequences on the vanquished.—*Artax.* 21. Isocrates, the contemporary of Antalcidas, denounces it no less emphatically.—*Paneg.* 47, 48. Its author received a just reward. After the battle of Leuctra he once more repaired to the Persian court, but being there slighted as the representative of a people who had been conquered in a pitched battle, he became disgusted with the world, and starved himself to death.—*Wachsmuth*, vol. ii. pp. 304, 305.

³ *Xen.* 5. 1. 30. Compare *Wachsmuth*, vol. ii. pp. 301—305.

⁴ Sparta still retained her own authority over the *Periæci* and *Helots*, which was confirmed by ancient prescription.

must resign the authority which they had hitherto claimed over the inferior cities of Bœotia, and the Argives must withdraw their garrison from Corinth. Finally, as the treaty had been concluded on the part of Sparta, and its ratification had been accepted by Persia, she had acted and was enabled to act as the arbiter of all Greece. At the same time the Spartans, by proclaiming the independence of the smaller cities, would be looked upon as the friends of universal liberty, and might expect, with great probability, to attach them to the confederation of which Sparta formed the head. The possession of such unimportant islands as Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, guaranteed by the treaty to the Athenians, could only be intended to heal their wounded vanity in relinquishing more substantial acquisitions' (387 B.C.)

CHAPTER XXIV.

PELOPIDAS AND EPAMINONDAS.

Conduct of Sparta—Pelopidas—Liberation of Thebes—Epaminondas—Victory of Pelopidas.

THE consequences of the peace of Antalcidas soon began to develop themselves more fully. The cities which had

¹ "Though the *hegemony* of Sparta was far more extensive than that of Athens had been, it was far from universal.... Moreover, in defining the empire of Sparta, we are called upon to consider two distinct periods: 1. That of the hegemony by sea, which lasted from the victory over Athens till the battle of Naxos (p. 304). 2. That of the hegemony by land in its greatest extent, which commenced with the peace of Antalcidas, and attained its zenith with the occupation of the Cadmea and the expedition to Olynthus. During the former, Sparta commanded all the eastern dependencies of Greece, but in Greece Proper her authority extended very little beyond the confines of the Peloponnesus. During the latter, her empire by land included Bœotia, and reached as far as Thrace, while she scarcely retained any portion of her hegemony in the east and among the maritime states."—*Wachsmuth*, vol. ii. p. 291.

gained their independence were instigated to internal dissension; whilst the Spartans, apparently authorized by the "peace," decided upon all matters in dispute. Thus they demanded of the Mantineans, in Arcadia, to abandon their city, and disperse themselves in the villages,¹ because they had furnished the Argives with supplies during the late war; and, upon their refusing to disperse, they compelled them by force of arms² (386 B. C.). This was immediately followed by oligarchical institutions; the villages, into which the common capital had been resolved, received chief magistrates belonging to the Spartan faction. Argos was also exhausted, and the Spartan faction bore sway in Corinth. Pisa was now released from its subjection to Elis; Plataeæ was rebuilt, and various other towns of Bœotia acquired their independence; Chios was disarmed, and compelled to deliver up her ships. The growing power of Olynthus, on the Chalcidian peninsula, which had become the head of an extensive confederacy, also attracted the jealousy of Sparta. At the call of the Macedonian kings who had lost their most valuable provinces, and the cities of Acanthus and Apollonia who anticipated subjugation—Sparta came forward, after a pretended consultation of the allies, to protect their independence, as the executor of the peace of Antalcidas (383 B. C.). After an obstinate struggle of three years, Olynthus was reduced, and obliged to join the confederation of Sparta.—Wherever oligarchic institutions were violently obtruded, the dynasts recognized no other law than that of force; and, in the carrying out of the system, they looked for countenance and support to Sparta.³

¹ Διοικισμός.

² The Spartans despaired of taking Mantinea by siege. The river Ophis flowed through the city. The Spartans stopped the course of the stream, and laid the lower part of the city under water; and as the walls, being formed of raw bricks, began to dissolve, the Mantineans capitulated.

³ So the Athenian Antocles: *Τούτων τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐπιμελείσθαι οὐχ ὅπως νομίμως ἀρχωσιν, ἀλλ' ὅπως δύνωνται βίᾳ κατέχειν τὰς πόλεις.*—*Xen. Hell.* 6. 3. 8.

Every petty place surrounded with walls now assumed the character of an independent state. The wily Spartans had purposely avoided fixing any definite period from which claims for the recovery of independence required to be dated. By this means, confederacies of remote antiquity might be dissolved, and the name πόλις, or "state," applied to the most insignificant townships. Most of them were probably allured by the captivating sounds of *Autonomia*, *Autocratia*, *Autoteleia*—independent legislation, government, and administration. The confederation of the Peloponnesus was now organised with greater vigour. Sparta demanded levies of troops, by means of the scytale (p. 186); any member of the confederacy refusing to send its quota when required, incurred a fine. The assemblies of the ambassadors from the various states were held in Sparta; and all contentions between allied towns during the absence of the confederate army were strictly forbidden. The Peloponnesians might bear without repining a yoke to which they had been accustomed, but Sparta demanded the same degree of obedience from the other states of Greece.

Agésilas had manifested a great antipathy towards Thebes ever since her refusal to send troops to Asia. The Spartan, Phœbidas, who was sent to reinforce his brother Eudamias at the commencement of the Olynthian war, made a diversion, and possessed himself of the citadel of Cadmea at the request of Leontiades, the leader of the Spartan faction in Thebes.¹ After some hesitation, the Spartans determined, on the advice of Agésilas, though in violation of all faith and honour, to garrison the citadel with 1500 men; and Leontiades was now enabled to exercise his authority with great severity. Ismenias, the leader

¹ It is doubtful whether Phœbidas acted in this matter by the orders of Sparta, or was merely desirous to perform a splendid action. According to Plutarch, Agésilas was generally suspected to have been at the bottom of it. Ἦν μὲν οὖν εὐθὺς ἐκ τούτων ὑπόνοια, Φοιβίδου μὲν ἔργον εἶναι, βούλευμα δ' Ἀγησιλάου τὸ πεπραγμένον.—*Agēs.* 24.

of the democratic party, was executed. The victims of oppression suffered similar calamities to those which afflicted Athens during the reign of the Thirty tyrants; and numbers, who found their personal security compromised, fled to Athens for refuge.—Sparta had now attained her real object at the peace of Antalcidas. She had garrisoned Thebes, separated Argos and Athens, dismembered Mantinea and Elis, and, lastly, entered into an alliance with the king of Persia in the east, and the tyrant Dionysius in the west (383 B. C.).

The refugees¹ at Athens, animated by Pelopidas, a man of distinguished courage and generosity, determined to imitate the conduct of Thrasybulus. They soon came to an understanding with many nobles in Thebes, who were equally impatient of the tyranny of the Spartans and their adherents. Phyllidas, a man distinguished for his boldness, activity, and address, and strongly attached to the cause of the exiles, stood at the head of the conspiracy.² By his insinuating address, he had acquired the full confidence of the magistrates at Thebes, and the office of secretary to the council. On the evening fixed upon for carrying the plot into execution, Phyllidas was to give a banquet to the two polemarchs, Philippus and Archias; and Charon, another individual of distinction, agreed that his house should be the place of assembling for the conspirators (378 B. C.).

In the mean time, the conspirators left Athens clad as peasants, and furnished with nets, poles, and all the apparatus of hunters, in order to lull suspicion. Having arrived

¹ "Fugitives (*φυγάδες, φεύγοντες*), who had been expelled by force, or had fled in consequence of misuse and oppression, arrayed themselves against their respective cities, with the firm resolution of leaving neither violence nor stratagem unemployed to effect their return. They mostly took up their position in a town or village near their native city, fortified some place of strength in its vicinity, and from thence made war upon it. Such were Thrasybulus, Pelopidas, the fugitives of Chios, Phlius, Phigalia, and Corinth, &c.—*Wachsmuth*, vol. ii. pp. 394, 395.

² *Polyb.* vi. 41.

at Thebes towards evening, they repaired through different gates to the house of Charon, where their comrades—thirty-eight in number—had already been waiting. Archias and Philippus were now banqueting with Phyllidas; preparations were therefore speedily made by the conspirators for the accomplishment of the bloody deed. A knock was heard at the door; it was an officer, who summoned Charon to the polemarchs. The conspirators imagined that they were betrayed; but it was determined that Charon should obey the summons, and proceed to the polemarchs. "I have heard," said Archias on his arrival, "that some exiles are concealed in this city, and have received support from the citizens." Charon replied, that nothing was known for certain; but that he would make every inquiry: while Phyllidas artfully suggested, "that the absurd rumour had doubtless been spread for no other purpose than that of disturbing their pleasures."

The potations now became still more liberal, and Phyllidas told his guests that the courtesans, whom he had often promised, should be introduced. At this crisis a messenger arrived from Athens, bringing a letter to the polemarchs, detailing the whole of the conspiracy, and requesting Archias to read it, as it contained matters of the utmost importance. "Important things must be deferred till to-morrow," said the licentious Archias, laying the letter carelessly aside, and waiting for the courtesans. These appeared full soon enough; they were the conspirators, who had put on female attire over their armour, and crowned themselves with garlands. The attendants retired; the conspirators were led in by Phyllidas, and, at the appointed signal—that of removing their veils—drew their daggers, and slew the two polemarchs. The conspirators then went in search of Leontiades and his associates, and gained admission into their houses successively, by means of Phyllidas. Pelopidas killed Leontiades with his own hand after a severe struggle; the rest perished without resistance. The prisons were

opened by Phyllidas, in order that the victims of oppression might join their deliverers; and the arsenals were broken open, in order to provide them with arms (378 B. C.).

Thus was the city freed from the oligarchs, and that, too, before most of the inhabitants, anxious to discover the cause of the nocturnal tumult, were aware what had happened. In the morning, the conspirators were joined by a strong body collected by Epaminondas; and the rest of the exiles came from Attica. The people, who had been summoned to a general assembly, received their deliverers and benefactors with acclamations, and appointed Mellon, Charon, and Pelopidas to the office of polemarchs. The Thebans, however, had not yet worked out their deliverance, for the citadel was still garrisoned by 1,500 Spartans. They, therefore, solicited immediate assistance from Athens, before the garrison was strengthened by reinforcements from Sparta; and the Athenians, eager to seize the opportunity, ordered several thousand men to march with the utmost celerity. They now laid siege to the citadel of Cadmea; and the garrison, intimidated by their impetuosity, was obliged to surrender before the Spartan army, which hastened to its succour, arrived at the boundaries of Bœotia. The garrison, it may be remarked, was chiefly composed of the allies of Sparta, who felt no great inclination to expose themselves to danger, in order to maintain her supremacy.¹

Thebes now started as competitor for the supremacy over Greece, which had hitherto been disputed only by Sparta and Athens. Great difficulties, however, stood in her way. She could lay claim neither to the ancient dignity of Sparta, nor the intellectual refinement of Athens; she had neither a naval force, nor extensive commerce. And, what was still more discouraging, she had become infamous among the Greeks, on account of her ancient alliance with Xerxes and the barbarians; whilst the Bœotian towns had become independent of her, by the stipulations of the peace of

¹ *Xen. Hell.* v. 4. 11.; *Plut. Pelop.* xiii.

Antalcidas. Thus, after the expulsion of the Spartans from the Cadmea, Orchomenus supported the cause of oligarchy against Thebes; Thespiæ rose in arms; and the hereditary hostility of Platææ was the cause of its second demolition (373 B. C.). Orchomenus was taken (364 B. C.). Thespiæ shared the same fate as Platææ.—But from the time of her having measured swords with the Athenians at Delium, and with the Spartans at Coronea, Thebes had become impressed with a stronger consciousness of her own power and energy.

With the democracy commenced the political greatness of Thebes. The necessity the Thebans were under of defending to the utmost their newly acquired independence against a most powerful enemy, imparted unwonted energy to all, and excited every enthusiastic feeling of which man is susceptible. The liberators, says Xenophon, strove to satisfy the demos, and determined to die for the constitution, rather than be again expelled: the body politic became animated by a new soul. Military institutions continued to form the basis of the public system. The Sacred Band,¹ formed by Gorgidas, consisted of three hundred chosen citizens, supported by the community at large, and united to each other by the bonds of patriotism and fraternal love. Pelopidas and Epaminondas, two men of singular spirit and courage, united all their efforts in the furtherance of one common object—the elevation of their native country.

Epaminondas differed from Pelopidas, inasmuch as he had exalted all his natural gifts by the most careful cultivation. He had devoted the best years of his life to the study of philosophy, and, during the intervals of war and politics, he never forgot the service of the muses. In him the qualities of the hero were elevated by all the charms of urbanity, intelligence, and the purest goodness of heart. Who can remember, without emotion, the childlike words of the conqueror at Mantinea, “that his sweetest recom-

¹ *Xen. Hell.* vi. 4, 6.

² ἱερὸς λόχος.

pence consisted in imagining the joy that his parents would feel on hearing the news of the victory?" And who will not see, with Plutarch, the most convincing proofs of their virtue in the uninterrupted friendship which existed between the two heroes, when we consider the many causes of jealousy which, in other instances, wrecked the friendship of an Aristides and a Themistocles, of a Cimon and a Pericles?¹ But, as in the northern regions of the earth, a hot and blooming summer, without any transition through the intermediate gradations of winter and harvest, is shut in on both sides by a sluggish and benumbing winter—so did the glory of Thebes rise and fall with these two heroes, that it appeared to be the creation of these individuals, rather than of the state and people.

In the mean time, the Thebans were occupied in fortifying their city and district, and in obtaining the accession of other states, particularly Athens. Here the Spartan and Theban parties were pretty equally divided; but the scale was turned in favour of the latter by an attempt, on the part of the Spartans, to surprise the Piræus by night. The Athenians took up arms *en masse* to defend the city; and the feelings of hostility against Sparta revived with more than ordinary vigour. This occasioned a temporary renewal of the alliance between Athens and Thebes. Agesilaus now undertook² the supreme command of the Peloponnesian army; but, notwithstanding his talent and experience, he gained no decisive advantages (378 B. C.).

Pelopidas, in order that he might practise and improve his men by skirmishing, purposely abstained from coming to a decisive engagement. He, however, was unexpectedly brought into contact with a Spartan army, almost double the number, near Orchomenus, or Tegea, and that, too, in

¹ See *Rotteck* ii. 109.

² After the liberation of the Cadmea, Agesilaus declined the command of the army, lest it should be said, according to Xenophon, that he had involved the state in troubles, by assisting the dynasts.—*Hell.* v. 4. 13.

a narrow pass. "We have fallen into the hands of the enemy," exclaimed one who was somewhat alarmed. "No, my friend," cried Pelopidas, "have they not rather fallen into ours?" He forthwith attacked and defeated them. This success excited the highest confidence in the Thebans, and, at the same time, convinced the rest of the Greeks, that *men* were not born only on the banks of the Eurotas.

CHAPTER XXV.

ASCENDANCY OF THEBES.

Successes of the Athenians—Secession of Athens—Battle of Leuctra—Truce Concluded.

IN the mean time Thebes was well supported by the naval power and activity of Athens. Immediately after, and even previous to, the attempt to surprise the Piræus, the Athenians called upon all the cities and islands to revolt; and their call was responded to by the Chians, Eubœans, Byzantines, Rhodians, &c. as they were unable to obtain the liberty and independence guaranteed to them by the peace of Antalcidas. Athens was placed at the head of the confederacy. The islands, at the very commencement of this coalition, endeavoured to prevent a revival of her despotism by expressly stipulating that they should neither receive Cleruchies,¹ nor be liable to the old system of tribute² the very name of which had become odious, but merely furnish moderate contributions.³ In a short time the confederate states amounted to seventy-five. It was further stipulated that each state should possess *autonomia*,

¹ Μηδὲνα τῶν Ἀθηναίων γεωργεῖν ἐκτὸς τῆς Ἀττικῆς.—Diod. xviii. 29.

² Φόρος.

³ Συντάξεις. Harpocr. p. 279.

or be governed by its own laws; that the *Synedrion*, or federal council, should be held in Athens; and that all the states, whether small or great, should have equal votes.¹

The allies of Sparta, at the beginning of the great Bœotian war, were the Arcadians, Eleans, Achæans, Sicyonians, Phliasians, Corinthians, Leucadians, Ambraciots, Zacynthians, Megarians, Phocians, Locrians, Acarnanians, and Olynthians. The cooperation of many of these was obviously secured, either by the despotism of Sparta, or the oligarchic constitutions which she had introduced and supported. For the first time since the Peloponnesian war, Chabrias, the Athenian, obtained a great victory over the united Spartan fleet near Naxos; a victory which may be compared to that gained by Conon at Cnidus, as it once more destroyed the naval power of Sparta. Timotheus, son of Conon, brought over Acarnania, and the powerful Corcyra, &c. to the side of Athens, and defeated the Peloponnesian fleet off Leucas. When Timotheus was accused of negligence and suspended in the command, the brave and talented Iphicrates, who invented a new system of tactics for the mercenaries, prosecuted the war with similar success along the coast of the Peloponnesus²—laying under contributions the islands of Corcyra, Zacynthus, Leucadia, and Cephallenia (376 B. C.).

But this unanimity of the two leading enemies of Sparta did not continue for any length of time. As Thebes had refused to contribute towards defraying the common expences of the war, and had expelled the inhabitants of Thespiæ and Plataeæ, and marched into Phocis with an

¹ *Diod.* xv. 28.

² When Agesilaus invaded Bœotia, Chabrias, the Athenian, repelled him from Thebes by a singular stratagem. Chabrias occupied a rising ground, and, on the approach of the enemy, who were much superior in numbers, he ordered his troops to support their advanced bodies on their left knee, and extend their shields and spears. They thus firmly maintained their ranks, and Agesilaus, alarmed at the determined boldness of this unusual array, withdrew his troops from the capital. Chabrias had a statue of himself executed in this position.

intention to reduce it—the Athenians felt great dissatisfaction. The antipathy she had borne to Sparta had been succeeded by jealousy of Thebes, whom she knew to be no longer in want of her assistance, and who was fast growing into a formidable rival. The rich citizens complained of the oppressive assessments; the city was annoyed by the depredations of pirates from Ægina; and, consequently, they were disposed to come to a better understanding with Sparta. At a general congress, held at Sparta, and attended by Epaminondas on the part of Thebes, Antocles and Callistratus on the part of Athens, a peace—the peace of Callias—was concluded upon the basis of that of Antalcidas. The principal condition was a real and complete independence of all the states; and the Lacedæmonians engaged to withdraw their Harmosts from all the places where they were stationed.¹ Thebes, who saw well that she must surrender her control over the Bœotian cities, refused to give in her adhesion² to the treaty, unless Sparta would also guarantee their liberty to Laconia and Messenia. Epaminondas, whose pertinacity was only increased by the angry vehemence of Agesilaus, justly observed, that the real drift of the treaty was to weaken the power of Thebes by dispossessing her of her dominion over the cities of Bœotia; but Thebes was as much justified in exercising that dominion as Sparta was in keeping under subjection the extensive territories of her confederates³ (372 B. C.).

Cleombrotus, who was at this time commanding the Spartan army in Phocis, broke up and fell in with the

¹ The Spartans now, for the first time, formally acknowledged Athens to possess the naval *hēgemonia* of Greece, according to Diodorus; but see *Manso*, iii. 2. § 54.

² Epaminondas offered to sign the treaty for Thebes in the name of all Bœotia, as Agesilaus had signed for Sparta in the name of all Laconia and Messenia. But then this would have been a practical acknowledgment of the rightful supremacy of Thebes.

³ This was perfectly fair; for the only difference between the two cases was, that the dominion of Thebes over the Bœotian cities (when contrasted with that of Sparta over Laconia and Messenia), had fluctuated at different periods.

Thebans in the plain of Leuctra, a village on the Boeotian frontier about ten miles from Plataeæ. It was not without much anxiety that the Thebans decided upon giving battle to an army double their number;¹ but the courage of Epaminondas was not to be daunted. With painful solicitude he committed his wife to the care of Pelopidas, requesting him, at the same time, to consult for his own safety; but Pelopidas proudly answered that "individuals might be reminded of this, but generals should consult only for the safety of others." When Epaminondas led his army out of the gate, who were alarmed by the appearance of some evil omen, he quoted the line of Homer which expresses, that the "only omen," we ought to observe, "is to fight for our country."

The arrangements of Epaminondas for the battle exhibited great talent; and the oblique order, when combined with the courage of the sacred band led by Pelopidas, and the superiority of the Theban cavalry—enabled him to inflict upon Sparta the greatest defeat that she had hitherto sustained. Aware that the Spartan phalanx was invincible by any similar formation, Epaminondas organized the Theban army in columns upon a front less than their depth, so as to enable him to direct the whole or any part against a given point of the enemy's line, and to bear it down by an irresistible superiority of force. Observing the Lacedæmonians advance their two wings before the centre, so as to form the order which the Greeks called the half-moon, he instantly attacked the centre of one of those wings, and, having penetrated it, soon succeeded in throwing the whole into irretrievable confusion.² King Cleombrotus himself

¹ The Spartan army amounted to 24,000 foot, and 1,600 horse. The Theban cavalry was nearly equal in number to that of the Spartans.

² Here the onset was made by one wing in column against another, in comparatively open formation; and hence the Theban order of attack became the oblique, which is erroneously supposed to be a discovery of modern times. Xenophon compares it to that of a heavy vessel striking a light one amidships with her bow, and dashing her to pieces by the collision.—*Art. ARMY. Encyc. Britan.*

perished, and an extraordinary number of Spartans lay dead upon the field. The Peloponnesian army, after a consultation whether they should return to the field or not, demanded the bodies of the slain, and thus formally acknowledged the victory of the Thebans (371 B. C.).

The consternation excited in Sparta was indeed great; but still the Spartans were true to their ancient character, and the games which they were engaged in celebrating were not once interrupted. The only subject of embarrassment was, how to deal with an ancient law which imposed the severest penalties—perpetual exile, or submission to the most degrading indignities—upon those who had turned their backs in the field of battle. “Let the law sleep to-day,” was the decision of Agesilaus, who now cooperated with the Ephori in forming a new army. Athens, when she received intelligence concerning the defeat, exhibited no desire to avail herself of the opportunity to humble her rival Sparta; and to the Thebans she expressed no sympathy with a victory which threatened to raise up a new competitor for the ascendancy over Greece. Within two years after the battle of Leuctra most of the states of the Peloponnesus threw off the Spartan yoke, and courted the protection of Thebes—not to mention the Locrians, Acarnanians, and Phocians in the north of Greece, and the important island of Eubœa. Military enthusiasm now became predominant in the minds of the Thebans.¹

But the struggle, which was now about to commence afresh, was prevented by a mediator, who stepped in between the belligerent parties. This was Jason, tyrant of Phæræ, a man of extraordinary qualities and restless activity, who having united under his government the extensive and fertile territory of Thessaly, and extended his dominion from the Ægean to the Ionian sea—meditated

¹ Καὶ γὰρ οἱ μὲν Βοιωτοὶ ἐγυμνάζοντο πάντες περὶ τὰ ὅπλα, ἐγαλλόμενοι τῇ ἐν Λεύκτροις νίκῃ.—*Xen. Hell.* vi. 5. 23.

nothing less than establishing his ascendancy over Greece,¹ and undertaking a national war against Persia. After the battle of Leuctra he was called upon as an ally, by the Thebans, to aid in putting down the Lacedæmonians; but, adopting the character of mediator, he concluded a truce, by virtue of which the Peloponnesian army returned to Corinth, and there broke up. The defeat at Leuctra had effectually humbled the pride and power of Sparta. She was now incapable of offering further opposition to the complete independence of all the states, stipulated by the peace of Antalcidas; and Thebes made the diffusion of democratic institutions one of the main objects of her external policy (370 B. C.).

CHAPTER XXVI.

ASCENDANCY OF THEBES.

Arcadia—Invasion of Sparta—Trial of Epaminondas and Pelopidas—Progress of the War—Battle of Mantinea—Death of Epaminondas.

BUT the reconciliation effected by Jason was not of long duration. The despotic conduct of Sparta, during her hegemony, had contributed not a little to diminish the attachment which had hitherto prevailed among her neighbours and confederates; and the terrors of her name had ceased when the lustre of her arms had been tarnished on the field of Leuctra. The Mantineans, taking advantage of this external weakness of Sparta, shook of the yoke, and

¹ Jason of Phæræ appears to have first conceived the project of a league, when he caused himself to be appointed generalissimo (ταγός) of all Thessaly. The force he collected shews what that part of Greece might have effected especially by means of its superior cavalry, had it been united and well governed. Θετταλοι εὐδόκιμοι ἦσαν ἐν Ἑλλάσι καὶ ἰθαυμάζοντο ἐφ' ἱππικῇ τε καὶ πλούτῳ.—*Plato. Menezen. p. 7.*

proclaimed their independence by rebuilding their city; while Lycomedes, the leader of the democratic party in Tegea, brought forward a plan for uniting Arcadia into a military confederacy.¹ The deliberative and executive assembly of the collective Arcadians was henceforth composed by the Murioi,² whose name does not express the precise number of its members, but merely indicates the bulk of warriors contained in it. Before the close of the year in which the battle of Leuctra was fought, the want of a fortified capital became apparent, and several tribes accordingly were located in a new city, called Megalopolis³ from its extent. Those who had been previously dispersed in villages, were now rendered more capable of repelling aggression. The first efforts of the Murioi were characterized by uncommon energy; neither night, nor winter, nor distance, nor inaccessible mountains were any impediment to their expeditions.⁴ A federal force,⁵ amounting to five thousand soldiers—distinct from the Murioi as a collective body, and the Megalopolitans as an individual community—was maintained by the confederate towns, exclusive of the local militia. These measures, though thwarted from the first, effectually prevented Lacedæmon from regaining its supremacy.⁶

¹ Κοινόν, τὸ Ἀρκαδικόν.

² Ten Thousand. They had the power *περὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης* βουλευέσθαι.—*Diod.* xv. 59. The chiefs of the confederacy were named *ἀρχοντες*, the magistrates in Mantinea *πρόσταται*.

³ Μεγάλη, great, and πόλις, a city.

⁴ Ὅπου δὲ βουλευθεῖεν ἐξελθεῖν, οὐ νύξ, οὐ χειμῶν, οὐ μῆκος ὁδοῦ, οὐκ ὄρη δύσβατα ἀπεκώλυνεν αὐτούς.—*Xen. Hell.* vii. 1, 25.

⁵ Termed *Epariti*. Ἐπαρόητοι—τάγμα Ἀρκαδικόν μαχημάτων.—*Heysch.*

⁶ See particularly Demosthenes *pro Megalopolitanis*, and the statement in Polybius (iv. 33, 9) concerning the services rendered by the Megalopolitans at the restoration of the Messenians, B.C. 362. The anxiety of the several states to preserve the equipoise of power which was thus created in the Peloponnesus, held the whole of Greece in a state of inactivity and jealousy which ultimately cost it its freedom: Τῷ πρωτεύειν ἀντιποιοῦνται μὲν ἕκαστοι—γεγόνασι καθ' αὐτοὺς ἕκαστοι, Ἀργεῖοι, Θηβαῖοι, Κορινθιοί, Λακεδαιμόνιοι, Ἀρκάδες, ἡμεῖς.—*Demosth. Philipp.* iv. p. 145. 7. See *Hermann*, pp. 371, 372.

The armistice was now at an end. Agesilaus led an army into Arcadia; but, on the other hand, Thebes did not remain an idle spectator. Epaminondas passed over into the Peloponnesus at the head of an army amounting to 50,000, some say to 70,000 men; and he was induced, on the urgent solicitations of the Arcadians ever ready for plunder, and of several Laconian cities, who declared their resolution to revolt from Sparta—to invade Laconia. The warlike races of the north now marched into the Peloponnesus under the banners of Thebes, overrunning it in the same manner as at the time of the Doric migration. For the space of five hundred years no invading army had ever violated the soil of Sparta; and the Spartans beheld with indignation an upstart power, like that of Thebes, ravaging the whole extent of their country, as far as Gythium and the sea. The Spartans were compelled to arm 6,000 helots and peasants in this emergency; but their hopes were somewhat revived by the arrival of a reinforcement from Corinth, Phlius, Epidaurus, and Pellene. At the same time they were threatened with an internal conspiracy; but the policy of Agesilaus fortunately suppressed it—while the vigorous defence of the city convinced the Thebans that the success of the enterprise could never compensate for the danger and labour of carrying it into execution (369 B. C.).

But Agesilaus, notwithstanding his exertions, was unable to preserve the power of Sparta unimpaired even in its immediate neighbourhood. Messenia, which had been so long subject to Sparta, was erected by Epaminondas into an independent state. Immediately after the battle of Leuctra, he had summoned the Messenians, who were scattered over Italy, Sicily, Cyrene, &c. to return to the Peloponnesus; and they were now collected into a new-built city, Messene, at the foot of Mount Ithome. The mutual antipathy of the two states—for Messenia had laboured under Spartan oppression for three centuries—

thus rendered a close observation absolutely necessary on the part of Sparta.

In the mean time, the Theban army left the Peloponnesus, for Iphicrates had arrived in Arcadia; and the sympathy which Athens had manifested for her bitterest enemy, must have convinced Epaminondas how impolitic it would be to persist in his original plan of destroying the Lacedæmonian capital, and "plucking out an eye of Greece." On this occasion, Epaminondas and Pelopidas had continued in command four months beyond the time appointed by law; and their enemies did not fail to turn it to account. "The law condemns me," said Epaminondas, with his usual dignity. "Well! I deserve death. I only request that my crime may be recorded:—The Thebans put Epaminondas to death because he compelled them to attack and conquer the Lacedæmonians at Leuctra, whom they never dared even to look upon before; because he delivered his native country, laid siege to Sparta, built and fortified Messene." This appeal was irresistible; the people hailed him with a loud shout, and the accusers skulked away.

The Lacedæmonians, on the other hand, found friends in their necessity. Syracuse, as belonging to the Dorian race, sent them assistance; and Athens, as we have already seen, was induced by her jealousy of Thebes and her dread of Theban domination, to follow the example. Sparta wished to assume the supreme command of the land-forces, leaving that of the sea to the Athenians; but when the Athenians were reminded by an orator, that their cavalry and hoplites were composed of the choicest citizens, whilst the Spartan navy was only manned with helots and mercenaries,—it was determined that the two powers should take the supreme command by land as well as by sea, alternately (368 B.C.).

Yet, previous to this confederacy, the Athenians had sent Iphicrates with an army to cut off the retreat of Epaminondas at the Isthmus; and in the following year, another

was despatched under Chabrias, the most popular of their generals, to dispute his entrance into the Peloponnesus. Epaminondas, however, broke through the lines of the allies, and Chabrias was obliged to content himself with protecting Corinth, which otherwise, like Sicyon and Pellene, would have received a Theban garrison. This invasion of Laconia, however, was followed by no decisive results; for the Thebans returned quickly, their attention being directed to affairs in the north of Greece. Pelopidas played the character of umpire between contending candidates for the throne of Macedonia; and he sought to pacify Thessaly in order to attach her to the interests of Thebes. The Thessalians had supplicated assistance from Thebes against Alexander of Pheræ, a brother of Jason, who had usurped the supreme dominion by his crimes, and was now exercising it with cruelty. In this expedition, Pelopidas was unfortunately incarcerated by the tyrant; a second army was despatched, and Epaminondas having defeated the tyrant, compelled him to liberate his prisoner (367 B. C.).

In order to support herself in these manifold undertakings, Thebes endeavoured to obtain the assistance of Persia, and to counteract the dangerous negotiations of the crafty Antalcidas, on the part of Sparta. Pelopidas went himself to Susa, and represented to Artaxerxes the ancient services of Thebes in behalf of Persia, and how strenuously she had been employed of late in humbling a power—whose king, Agesilaus, had so shortly before brought the Persian empire into imminent danger. By these representations, which were made in presence of the ambassadors from Arcadia, Argos, Athens,¹ and Elis, Pelopidas so far

¹ Timagoras, one of the Athenian envoys, was put to death on his return, because he had suffered himself to be bribed. Pelopidas and Ismenias refused to do homage after the Persian fashion. The Arcadian envoy, Antiochus, was rather amusing on his return. He reported to the assembly that the king had bakers, cooks, cup-bearers, and porters in abundance, but no men who could fight with the Greeks; that, moreover, great delusion existed as to his vast

prevailed upon Artaxerxes, that the latter required from all the Greeks their adhesion to what Pelopidas proposed, as the basis of a peace: namely, that Messenia should be declared independent of Lacedæmon—that Athens should withdraw her ships from the sea—and that Persia, Thebes, and her allies would insist upon the execution of the treaty: commands still more peremptory than at the peace of Antalcidas.

As a pretty plain indication that the supremacy had now passed over to Thebes, it may be stated, that all the Hellenic cities were summoned to send ambassadors thither, in order to accept the terms of the peace as proposed by Persia. The allies, however, notwithstanding the recent victory, were by no means disposed to recognize this supremacy. Lycomedes, the legate of the Arcadians, contended that Arcadia ought to be the place of assembly, inasmuch as it had been the theatre of victory; and no single state would subscribe to the conditions of the peace. After a short time, the Thebans renewed the proposal to the several states singly, but with no better success than at the congress.

It was, however, determined that the war should be continued; and the Peloponnesus was, accordingly, invaded a third time, in order to gain over Achaia to the interest of the allies. Pelopidas won over the aristocratic party, by taking their interests under his protection; but the jealous representations of Arcadia, who contended that Achaia could never be trusted until the democracy was introduced, and she was governed by Theban harlots — prevented the latter from formally acceding to the confederacy. The number of the allies of Sparta progressively diminished, and, at last, that state, by allowing them to form independent treaties of peace with Thebes,¹ annihilated its own ascendancy² for ever.³

riches, for the far-renowned golden *platanus* was not large enough to give shadow to a cricket.—*Xen. Hell.* 7. 1. 38.

¹ *Xen. Hell.* vii. 4. 9.

² ἡγεμονία.

³ *Hermann*, p. 82.

In a struggle with the inhabitants of Elis, the Arcadians had plundered the temple of the Olympian Jupiter. This impiety was turned to account by the enemies of the democracy; and above all, Mantinea expressed her abhorrence at the violation. The perpetrators applied to Thebes for assistance. Thebes was at this time engaged also in a war against Alexander of Thessaly, who was defeated. The victory, however, cost the Thebans the life of Pelopidas; for which loss the league eventually concluded with the tyrant was but a poor compensation. The day appointed for the setting out of his army had been darkened by an eclipse of the sun; and in allusion to that fatal omen, the multitude exclaimed, "that the sun of Thebes was set, and her glory departed for ever" (364 B. C.).

Epaminondas, not long afterwards, appeared in the Peloponnesus; Argos, Sicyon, Messene, Megalopolis, and Tegea, rendered him assistance.¹ He proceeded to the district of Nemea, in order to intercept the Athenian succours, which would proceed by that route; but the Athenians, instead of marching across the Isthmus, sailed to the coast of Laconia. He now moved forward to Tegea, in Arcadia, where he encamped, whilst the other Peloponnesian allies, supported by Athens, took up their position at Mantinea, waiting the arrival of a Spartan army under Agesilaus. When Epaminondas heard of the departure of Agesilaus, he immediately performed a hasty march of thirty miles, in order to surprise the defenceless Sparta. Agesilaus, however, had timely information; he marched back at the head of a small but valiant band, and prevented Epaminondas from putting his scheme into execution. Sparta was at no period well fortified; and from the small number of Spartans sent to repel the assault of the Thebans, their want

¹ A quarrel having broken out between Arcadia and Elis, the former plundered the sanctuary of Olympic Jupiter. This detached Elis from the Theban confederacy, and split the Arcadians into two opposite factions.

of success is still more unaccountable. The ancient historians have, therefore, ascribed its preservation to the particular providence of the gods (363 B. C.).

No other alternative was left for the Theban general, save to attack the allied army at Mantinea. Instead of leading his men along the plain, which was the nearest road to Mantinea, he conducted them by a chain of hills connecting Tegea with that city; and having reached that part which faced the hostile army, he ordered his men to halt and lay down their arms. The enemy were thrown off their guard, and they abandoned their ranks. Epaminondas immediately converted the column of march into the order of battle, while the enemy prepared to receive the shock with the utmost haste and trepidation. At Mantinea, the Lacedæmonians carefully avoided the blunder for which they had paid so dear at Leuctra, and kept their forces more concentrated. But Epaminondas, forming the whole of his infantry in a single column, precipitated it upon a part of the enemy's line, overthrew it, and thus decided the fortune of the day. While in the act of completing the victory, he was wounded in the breast by a spear. The intelligence soon spread through the army, and the confusion it occasioned prevented the Thebans from duly prosecuting their victory. "The Theban column," says Xenophon, "broke the Spartans, but when Epaminondas fell, the rest knew not how to use the victory" (363 B. C.).

The anxiety of all was directed towards Epaminondas, for the physician declared that he would die as soon as the spear was extracted. Epaminondas, on his part, appeared only solicitous lest his shield should have fallen into the hands of the enemy; and, when it was brought to him, he kissed it as the companion of his dangers and his glory. He appeared uneasy about the issue of the victory, until it was reported that the Thebans had conquered. He now permitted the iron to be extracted, and when a friend cried out in the bitterness of despair, "Thou diest Epaminondas!

Would that thou at least hadst left a son behind thee!" He answered with his last breath, "I leave behind me two immortal daughters—the victories of Leuctra and Mantinea." He was buried in the field of battle; and his monument still existed, four centuries afterwards, in the time of Pausanias.

Although it could form no part of the policy of Athens to uphold the supremacy of Sparta, still she sought, with a prudent sparingness of her strength, to maintain an equilibrium between it and Thebes. Athens was induced to raise the democratic banner, in the hope, as Sparta had ceased to be formidable—of securing herself against Thebes, and maintaining such a position as would enable her, either by force or by compact, to decide the conflict between the other two, in any manner that might be most conducive to her own interest. When the result of the battle of Mantinea had effected this desired equilibrium, Athens appeared once more as the first state of Greece,¹ zealously intent on checking the rise of any other, however little the internal situation of her affairs could warrant her in hoping to carry on this system with success.²

CHAPTER XXVI.

STATE OF GREECE—PHILIP.

Agésilas in Egypt—Corruption of the Grecian States—Character and Progress of Philip—Misconduct of Athens—Position of the Grecian States.

THE victory of Mantinea, however, was attended by no decisive results. A calm ensued, owing to previous exhaustion. With the battle of Mantinea, terminated the struggle between Thebes and Sparta. From the question which

¹ *Demosth. Olynth.* iii. p. 36. 5.

² See Hermann, p. 349. Wachsmuth, vol. ii. p. 365.

Epaminondas, a few minutes before he expired, addressed to those around him, viz. whether Iollidas and Daiphantus had fallen, and from the advice which he gave them, upon being informed that they had, namely, that they should immediately make peace¹—we may perceive how entirely Thebes was indebted for her aggrandisement to a few distinguished individuals, and how little she owed to the people at large. The extinction of Grecian independence was fast approaching; the glory of the Grecian arms descended with Epaminondas into the grave; and with the battle of Mantinea the historians, Xenophon, Philistus, and Anaximenes, significantly close their labours.² A general peace was therefore mediated by the intervention of Artaxerxes, who was in want of Grecian auxiliaries to check the insurrections which had broken out in Egypt and Lesser Asia (362 B. C.).

As this peace guaranteed the independence of Messene, as well as Megalopolis, Sparta did not subscribe its conditions; yet she maintained a state of neutrality for want of resources. Agesilaus, however, though in his 80th year, directed his thoughts towards the elevation of his native country; and the confusion which prevailed in Persia, afforded him a convenient opportunity to annoy Artaxerxes for his interference in Grecian politics. The satraps not only rebelled against the king, but carried on war with each other; and in every undertaking, they engaged whatever Grecian talent might be disposable for the occasion. Thus Evagoras, by the help of the Athenian, Conon, established his power so firmly in Cyprus, that it required all the resources of Persia, during a space of ten years, to dissolve it. Pharnabazus, when making war upon Nectanebis, king of Egypt, had recourse to the generalship of Iphicrates; and Timotheus, when he had lost the command of the Athenian fleet, was thankfully received in Egypt.

Under these circumstances, Agesilaus was induced to repair to Egypt, at the head of a thousand Lacedæmonian

¹ *Plut. Apophth.* vi. 733.

² *Wachsmuth*, vol. ii. pp. 380, 381

hoplites, and ten thousand mercenaries, to assist King Tachos, successor of Nectanebis, who was now supporting the satraps of Syria and Asia Minor in a state of revolt against Persia. The command of the fleet was given to Chabrias, and of the land-army to Agesilaus; but scarcely had Agesilaus set out for Syria, when a revolution occurred in Egypt, and Nectanebis, a kinsman, endeavoured to dethrone Tachos. Agesilaus, being probably indignant because the command of the whole expedition was not entrusted to him, gave his support to Nectanebis, and succeeded in establishing his power. For this support, the new king presented Agesilaus with 230 talents, who now hoped that he would be able to restore the dignity of his native country. But, unfortunately, on his return, he was cast away on the coast of Libya, where he died, and with him the hopes of Sparta. The power of Thebes, which had grown so rapidly, was now also crippled; and Athens, according to the expression of a contemporary statesman, was but the wreck¹ of that vessel which Pericles had once piloted over the deep (361 B. C.).

But the spirit of the Grecian states was entirely changed, and corruption had already spread apace. The long con-

¹ The influence of the orators increased daily, and with it increased the folly of the people (*Æsch. adv. Ctes.* c. 85.); whilst, at the same time, the public officers in general, and particularly the generals and ambassadors, made greater pretensions to authority and importance. The checks which were supposed to exist on the first in the *γὰρ πρὸ παρανόμων*, and the responsibility which left the latter at the mercy of sycophants, were wholly ineffectual to protect the state from the effects of their treachery or interested views, since the rapacity of the populace afforded a ready means of swaying it to their purposes. The misapplication of the revenue had, above every thing else, a most pernicious effect on the foreign relations of Athens. The citizens left all military service to be performed by mercenaries (*Demosth. Philip.* i. p. 46. 25.), and these again, being always badly and irregularly paid, either pillaged the very allies whom they were sent to protect, or engaged in expeditions on their own score. At the same time the Athenians exhausted their ingenuity in framing resolutions and decrees, which they never proceeded to execute.—(*Demosth. adv. Epist. Phil.* pp. 156, 28). *Hermann*, pp. 351, 352.

tests in which they had been engaged, the excitement of passions, the change of parties, the insecurity of property, the number of exiles without a home, are amply sufficient to account for the disappearance of patriotism, and of every generous virtue. The ancient forms of free administrations still subsisted; but the spirit, which should have animated them, had fled for ever. Republican severity had degenerated into Asiatic voluptuousness—the love of country had been superseded by an all-absorbing selfishness, and it was impossible for a nation to preserve its independence, that had ceased to deserve it. But whilst this corruption was sapping the foundation of the Grecian states—a power was insensibly growing up in the wilds of Macedonia, which was destined to overthrow the liberties of Greece, and achieve the conquest of Asia.—The first period of Macedonian history extends from the earliest date, till the time of Philip; the second till the death of Alexander; and the third from the partition of the empire, till its subjugation by the Romans.

Though the kings of Macedonia had endeavoured, at various times, to connect themselves with the general affairs of Grecian history, yet the inhabitants were universally looked upon by the Greeks as barbarians.¹ We have already mentioned that Thebes took part in a disputed succession respecting the throne of Macedonia (p. 312); and Pelopidas having established the eldest son of Amyntas, took with him his youngest brother Philip, as a hostage, to Thebes. This residence at Thebes served to develop and form the character of Philip. Thebes was at that time the centre of Grecian politics, and the theatre of a new military system. The example of Pelopidas and Epaminondas

¹ Demosthenes uses this circumstance with great effect in his *Philippics*. The lineage of Philip was accounted Grecian, from Alexander, surnamed *Philhellen*. So Herodotus speaks of the decision of the umpires of the games at Olympia. Alexander—*ἐκρίθη εἶναι Ἕλληνα*. v. 22. But Demosthenes gives a very different account.—*Phil.* iii. 118.

shewed him what it was possible for man to achieve—the difficulties of his youth inspired him with a fondness for manœuvre and stratagem; and hence we observe in his actions, that singular combination of energy and craft, which he varied according as circumstances might require. During his residence in Greece, he formed connections with the leaders of Athens, and other Grecian republics, which contributed, in no small degree, to the success of his future plans.

The course of Philip was beset on every side with difficulties. No sooner was the prospect opened to him of ascending the throne, than the Thracian princes set up a new candidate, Pausanias; and Athens having an eye upon the recovery of Amphipolis, supported one Argæus, the ancient competitor of Amyntas; whilst the Pæonians and Illyrians threatened the very existence of the state. The policy of Philip, however, enabled him to overreach the Athenians, and to disarm their enmity. Having defeated Argæus, he dismissed the Athenian prisoners without ransom, and thus inspired them with the strongest belief of his respect for their republic. His contests with the Pæonians and Illyrians enabled him to form a brave and hardy soldiery, who were afterwards to bear away the palm from the most redoubted warriors of Greece. Philip was a consummate master in the art of war, and the Macedonian phalanx was his own creation. Its shock was irresistible in the open field; and its aspect was sufficiently formidable to inspire even a Roman general with a feeling of awe and terror. But the best tactical combinations can be of no avail without strong military discipline; and, therefore, Philip directed his attention towards the formation of efficient officers, converted the nobility into a splendid body-guard,¹ and, at the same time, accustomed the soldiers to

¹ Δορυφόροι.—The oval buckler, larger than common, and the long pike, or *sarissa*, were introduced by Philip and Alexander, and found to add incalculably both to the offensive and defensive power of the

the endurance of every hardship. Sensible that the name and influence of a *barbarian* was odious, Philip endeavoured, on all occasions, to approximate to the character of a *Hellene* (360-359 B. C.).

The embarrassments of Philip were now chiefly pecuniary. Hence he felt naturally desirous to possess the rich mines of Mount Pangæus (annual revenue 1000 talents), and the Greek colonies on the coast of Macedonia, with their productive commerce. Olynthus, which had gradually extended its dominion over the cities of Chalcidice, and could equip ten thousand hoplites for the field, sought to make head against Philip, by endeavouring to form a junction with Athens. The wily Macedonian not only prevented this junction, but gained over the Athenians, by stipulating to conquer Amphipolis for them. The Athenians, in consequence, rejected the overtures of the Olynthians with disdain. Philip, on the other hand, took advantage of this haughty treatment, testified to the Olynthians his surprise that they should court an alliance with Athens in preference to Macedon—and agreed, if they would only enter into his policy, to reduce the Athenian cities Pydna and Potidæa, on the Thermaic Gulf, and render them dependent on Olynthus.

In this favourable posture of affairs, Philip made his long-meditated attack upon Amphipolis, and prevented any succour being sent from Athens, by representing that he was only conquering the city, in order to put them in possession of it.¹ Amphipolis, however, was annexed to the Macedonian territory, notwithstanding these promises; and Philip prudently cultivated a good understanding with the Olynthian confederacy, by ceding to it Pydna and Potidæa. Crennidæ, which was now called Philippi, he colo-

phalanx. Some of the Greeks, however, piqued themselves on not adopting the changes of Alexander; but Philopœmen at length persuaded the Achæans to lay aside their ancient arms, and assume those of the Macedonians.—*Encyc. Brit. Art. ARMY.*

¹ "Ὅτε μὲν ἔπολιόρκει Ἀμφίπολιν ἴν' ὑμῖν παραδῶ πολιορκεῖν ἱφ' ἰπείδῃ δ' ἔλαβε καὶ Ποτίδαιαν προσαφείλετο.—*Demosth.*

nized with his own subjects, as it was the key to the mines of Thrace, formerly wrought by colonies from Thasos and Athens. The produce of these mines not only enabled him to maintain his army, fit out a small fleet in his newly acquired harbours, and defray the other expenses of the war, but also to keep in his pay and interest a number of traitors in every state of Greece. The gold of the Macedonians, and the friendship of Philip, was considered equivalent to the inestimable privileges of laws, country, and constitution¹ (357 B. C.).

That Athens was not duly sensible of the danger may be easily accounted for. The Athenians had always been accustomed to despise the Macedonians rather than fear them; and states are seldom affected by remote occurrences, however important. At the same time, Athens was engaged in a war with her dissatisfied allies, Rhodes, Chios, Byzantium, and Cos. Two also of her best generals, Timotheus and Iphicrates, were superseded by Chares, a man who, according to Theopompus, was attended in his expeditions by musicians and courtesans; and, according to Timotheus, "was fitter to carry the baggage,² than command an army." His oppressions and misuse served to make the name of Athens detested in all the islands and maritime districts. Unable to rescue Potidæa, he, at the same time, rendered the condition of Athens worse, by increasing her enemies. Whether from personal avarice, or a desire to procure the necessary resources for the Athenians, he accorded succour to the rebellious satrap, Pharnabazus, in his struggle against the king of Persia. The latter, therefore, no less than Philip, supported those islands which were in a state of revolt, so that Athens was at last compelled to conclude a dishonourable peace (356 B. C.).

The relative position of the belligerent states in Greece

¹ Τὸ Μακεδόνων χρυσίον καὶ τὴν Φιλίππου φιλίαν νόμους καὶ πατρίδα καὶ πολιτείαν καὶ πάντα τὰ τιμώτατα νομίζουσι—*Himerius* xxxiv. *Wernsd.* ² Chares was robust and broad-shouldered.

after the battle of Mantinea, was another circumstance highly favourable for the designs of Philip. Though neither Sparta, Athens, nor Thebes, evinced any desire to prolong the contest with the view of asserting a military supremacy over the rest, they soon began to exhibit their lust of power in a narrower sphere. Sparta once more endeavoured to establish a confederacy among the Peloponnesians under her own protectorate; and her attempt to reduce Argos, gave birth to a counter-confederacy of Megalopolitans, Sicyonians, Messenians, and Thebans, with the Argives. Sparta also wasted her strength in the quarrels of foreign states; for we find her sending detachments of auxiliaries to Sicily, Crete, and, subsequently, to Tarentum in Italy, where King Archidamus fell on the same day that the liberties of the mother-country received their death-blow at Chæronea. When the influence of Athens had prevailed over that of Thebes in the quarrels of the Eubœans, Athens effected a new league among the maritime states, and soon began to pervert her power to the purposes of oppression and exaction. The war which broke out in consequence, known by the name of the Social War, once more annihilated the Athenian power at sea. Thus no inconsiderable number of states were in possession of independence: Messenia was free from the control of Sparta; the naval league of Athens dissolved; and the supremacy of Thebes, in Bœotia, on the wane. Greece was thus separated into many conflicting portions, which though incapable of subsisting singly, were yet unwilling to unite,¹ and were far more intent upon inflicting injuries on each other, than ameliorating their own internal condition.²

¹ *Demosth. de Coronâ*, 231, 8:—ἀλλὰ τις ἦν ἀκριτος—παρὰ—
ἀπασιν Ἕλλησιν ἕρις καὶ ταραχή. ² *Wacksmuth*, ii. p. 430-433.

CHAPTER XXVII.

PHILIP AND DEMOSTHENES.

*Progress of Philip—The Sacred War—Character of Demosthenes—
State of Athens—Exhortations of Demosthenes.*

WHILST the attention of Athens was directed to other points, Philip was laying the foundation of his power in Thessaly, a country that was always highly esteemed for its cavalry. He was called in, indeed, as a liberator; but as he sought only to protect the weaker and weaken the stronger, he turned the disorders of the country to his own advantage rather than settled them. The versatility of his character, his good humour, his indulgence in wit and jesting, and even in the debauchery of the table, all contributed to recommend him to the Thessalians. In the first ebullitions of their gratitude, they surrendered to him the revenues accruing from their fairs and towns of commerce, as well as the conveniences of their harbours and shipping.

The daring ambition of Philip exhibited itself still more conspicuously to the eyes of Greece. He became a competitor at the Olympic games, and carried off the prize;¹ and if the Greeks could have appreciated the omen, it might have suggested to them that he would hereafter contend with them in earnest. But their blindness precipitated their fate; for, instead of making a stand against the common enemy, they plunged into a war which—on account of its relation to Delphi and the Amphictyonic council, whose activity had been lately revived—has been called the *Sacred War*, and which opened at last to Philip the gates

¹ He received the news of this victory as he was returning from his successful expedition into Pæonia and Thrace. At the same time he received intelligence of the success of his general Parmenio in Illyria; whilst a third messenger arrived to tell him that Olympias, his queen, had brought forth a prince at Pella.

of Thermopylæ, which conducted him into the heart of Greece (357 B. C.).

It happened that Sparta and Phocis were condemned by the Amphictyonic council—in which Theban influence was predominant—to pay considerable fines; the former, because they had several years ago surprised and seized the citadel of Thebes in a time of peace (p. 297); and the latter, because they had ploughed a portion of a field consecrated to Apollo, and therefore withdrawn from agriculture.¹ The Phocians were not in a condition to satisfy this demand; and therefore their leader, Philomelus, induced them to seize the city and temple of Delphi, on the ground that to them belonged the guardianship of the Delphian temple, and the treasures contained within its walls.² By means of these treasures he was enabled to enlist into his service mercenaries who flocked from all parts of Greece. The Athenians, who entertained apprehensions of an alliance between Thebes and the Macedonian king, accorded assistance to the Phocians; and Sparta was the more particularly zealous on the same side, as the fine of 500 talents, imposed upon her by the Amphictyons, was doubled on account of non-payment. The Thebans—who appear not to have forgotten that the Phocians had refused to perform military service under them in the war with Sparta—had, indeed, hoped to excite all Greece against Phocis; but they were miserably disappointed. The struggle was obstinate—it aimed at nothing less than utter extermination; whilst religion communicated to it a character of unparalleled ferocity, and served as a palliative for every cruelty (356-355 B. C.).

For two years hostilities were carried on with various success. The Phocians who fell into the hands of the enemy were uniformly put to death as sacrilegious wretches,

¹ The crime was not unprecedented. The Locrians of Amphiſsæ had long cultivated with impunity the Crissæan plain, consecrated to Apollo. Pausanias ascribes the charge to the inveterate hatred which the Thessalians bore the Phocians. x. 2. 1.

² For this purpose he quoted Hom. Il. ii.

and they retaliated with equal severity upon those whom the fortune of war threw into their hands. In a desperate engagement among the woods and mountains of Phocis, Philomelus, in order to escape the resentment of his pursuers, flung himself from a precipice. His brother Onomarchus drew off the remains of the vanquished army, and, being afterwards elected general, he carried on the war with increasing vigour. He plundered the temple of Delphi of its votive offerings—converting those of iron into arms, and those of silver and gold into money. By seasonable bribes he distracted the councils of Thebes, and persuaded the neighbouring states to observe a neutrality. Having thus increased the strength of his army, he pushed forward into Bœotia, defeated the Thebans, and took Coronea. From thence he marched victorious into Thessaly, whose tyrants were now in confident expectation of recovering their ancient dignity (353 B. C.).

Philip was now called in by the Thessalians. He hastened to the spot, and, though twice defeated by the Phocians, he at last gained a victory, in which the whole force of the enemy was annihilated. Philip did not neglect the opportunity of leaving Macedonian garrisons in Thessaly; and accordingly he garrisoned Pheræ, Pagasæ, and Magnesia. Under the pretence of taking vengeance upon the Phocians in their own country, Philip now wished to possess himself of Thermopylæ, the key to Greece; and Thessaly was ready to support him in the undertaking. The Athenians, however, were too well aware that the continuance of the Phocian war secured to them the possession of Eubœa, and protected them as well as the Peloponnesus from the haughtiness of Thebes; and that, under the mask of religious zeal, Philip was bent upon the invasion and conquest of their country. They, therefore, sent a fleet and fresh reinforcements to guard the straits of Thermopylæ; and Philip was obliged to return to Macedonia without having effected his object. The Athenians summoned an

assembly to deliberate upon the proper mode of counteracting the plans of Philip. The orator Diophantus proposed the institution of a festival out of gratitude to the gods who had prevented Philip from effecting a passage through the defile of Thermopylæ (352 B. C.).¹

Philip was now destined to meet with greater vigilance on the part of Athens, which was soon to become the leader of all who wished to counteract his insidious policy. At this period arose a man who was desirous of elevating Athens to its ancient position as the "deliverer of Greece"—a man who, like Pericles, was filled with the love of his country, and, like Themistocles, was adequate to the most complicated affairs—a man who saw through the whole policy of Philip, tracked it in all its windings, and thwarted it at every point. This man was Demosthenes. He was not descended from the nobler families of Athens, from which Cimon, Pericles, Thucydides, and Alcibiades had sprung;² but the scientific education of this period—a knowledge of history, of philosophy, and of oratory—had now become the means of imparting dignity to the character, and giving that direction to the mind, which was necessary for a statesman. Yet, though Demosthenes was an orator, he was not a rhetorician; for no man can peruse his speeches without being convinced that, whilst he advocated his principles with unflinching zeal, he advocated them also from sincere conviction. The effects of his eloquence, at a time when the sentiments of the Athenians were far from being favourable to the execution of his plans, and the respect which they manifested for his great and distinguished qualities, are truly wonderful. "He is really courageous," said

¹ *Dem. de Fals. Leg.* 368. 6.

² Juvenal, in the exaggerating language of satire, speaks of his father as a blacksmith—"ardentis massæ fuligine lippus" (x. 130). We must observe, however, that his father was not an artisan, but the proprietor of a manufactory of arms; and for a person to carry on a manufactory on his own account, and on a large scale, was not considered disreputable at Athens.

the orator to the Athenians, "who, for the sake of your safety and glory, opposes your most favourite inclinations, rouses you from your dream of pleasure, disdains to flatter you, and, having the good of his country ever in view, assumes that post in the administration in which fortune often prevails over policy, knowing himself to be responsible for the issue."

Yet it required all the energy of Demosthenes to awaken the Athenians from the political lethargy into which they had fallen. "The youth of Athens," says Theopompus, in reference to that period, "spent their days in the houses of musicians and courtesans—the more advanced in gaming and similar occupations; whilst the whole people devoted more attention to public banqueting and distributions of flesh,¹ than to the administration of the state." The general extravagance, and the poverty that resulted from it, made men reckless as to the means they employed to gratify their love of pleasure; hence their eagerness to betray their country into the hands of the dynasts, in order to obtain the gold they so liberally dispensed. Religion had degenerated into a mere instrument of sensual enjoyment, in which the feeling of devotion had been supplanted by the passion for statues, choral processions, and dramatic exhibitions; or the demagogues employed it to inflame the impure passions of the multitude.² Men of a nobler disposition, seeing the degradation of the state,³ and that the demagogues merely flattered the passions of the people, shrunk from the contamination of party, and chose rather to keep themselves un-

¹ These took place at the sacrifices.

² Such was the prosecution for impiety (γρᾱφὴ ἀσεβείας) instituted against the Hermocopidæ, p. 234.

³ "The Athenians," says Isocrates, "were more willing to hear praise bestowed on persons with whose very names they were unacquainted, than upon such as had conferred upon them real benefits," *Erag.* 306. Nicias very justly observed, at an earlier period, "that when an enterprise miscarried, the blame was laid upon the few, but when it succeeded, the people claimed all the merit."—*Xen. Rep. Ath.* ii. 17.

spotted from the evils of the times, than busy themselves in what they might conceive useless attempts to repress them. The turmoil of the crowd grew irksome to them. Many satisfied their political cravings in the retirement of private life, by soaring into the regions of speculation; by meditating on states and laws, and dedicating themselves to the development of abstract theories; or, quitting the land of their fathers, they pursued the stirring career of arms, and found a home among the mingled hordes of a camp.¹

To the first class belonged Phocion, a man of unbending integrity—untainted by selfishness—who felt no sympathy with the effeminacy of the age, and who treated the volatile character of the Athenians with such contempt, as to enquire in a public assembly, when a proposition which he had made met with universal approval, whether he had said any thing *foolish*?² Again, there were others—amongst whom we may reckon Isocrates, the “old man eloquent,” and his party—who, looking abroad upon the distractions of Greece, and the dangers likely to arise to the Asiatic Greeks from the barbarians, or from Greek adventurers, conceived Athens and Sparta to be unequal to the task of pacifying Greece. They were inclined, therefore, to see in the rise of Macedonia, the rise of a power which would enable Greece to baffle her old antagonist, Persia.³ Another party, however, who were in the interest of Philip, affected to view with terror the naval and military preparations of the great

¹ Compare *Wachsmuth*, vol. ii. p. 348.

² The fault of this estrangement between Phocion and the people, did not lie with the latter alone. Phocion himself was deficient in that humane and high-minded patriotism, which generously bears with the foibles and infirmities of others, and strives to amend them by exhorting them to virtue, and inspiring them with loftier aims.—*Wachsmuth*, vol. ii. p. 459.

³ “And it must be confessed,” observes Wachsmuth, “that Philip not only knew how to purchase the services of corrupt citizens and venal declaimers, but also possessed so many brilliant qualities, that he might well inspire even upright and patriotic Greeks with confidence and hope, and the rather, as they had wholly ceased to place dependence upon themselves.”—Vol. ii. p. 430.

king; but their real object was to divert public attention from the machinations of Philip.

Demosthenes, however, took a higher view of the question. His political sentiments were characterized by hostility to the rising power of Macedon, attachment to the democracy of his native city, and an earnest wish to promote unanimity among the states of Greece.¹ In the spirit of a Pericles or an Aristides, he consulted the welfare of the people, rather than their gratification; and he endeavoured by all the persuasion, and even sarcasm of his eloquence, to rouse them to a sense of their danger. "Ye are gratified, indeed," said he on one occasion, "when an orator praises your ancestors, recounts their deeds, and enumerates their victories; but consider that these were achieved by your ancestors, not that *ye* might merely behold and wonder, but also imitate their virtues." He then tells them that "their character was completely emasculated—that they were deprived of their influence and their allies—that they were merely the servants and dependants of their leaders, fully satisfied, forsooth, if they distributed to them the theatrical"

¹ *Orat. de Pace*, 61; in *Philip*. iii. 118; *de Coronâ*, 259, &c.

² As the orators were without office, so they were without responsibility. If chance gave the people in the person of their leader and champion, an individual gifted with sound political foresight, and exempt from low and selfish passions, all the advantages of a tyranny were enjoyed without its defects (compare *Pericles*, p. 199). But it too frequently proved that the oratorical talent which suited the popular taste, was coupled with the vulgar baseness which considered the favour of the mob, but as a means to the gratification of private interest and ambition (compare *Cleon*, p. 218). Thus the demagogue in the public assemblies, and the sycophant in the public courts, vied with each other in measures for the oppression and humiliation of the wealthy; and even the legal decisions of the judges, were not delivered without a strong bias in favour of the democracy (*Xen. Rep. Ath.* i. 13). Under such circumstances, oligarchical factions were generated, co-operating with each other in different states; and their inveterate hatred may be conceived from the oath preserved to us in Aristotle (*Pol.* v. 7, 19). "To plan and work mischief to the Demos to the utmost of one's ability." These remarks will throw light on the internal revolutions recorded in the preceding history.—See *Hermann*, pp. 129-131.

money and the lean oxen." "When, therefore, O my countrymen," he cried, "will you exert your vigour? Will it still be your sole business to saunter in the public place, inquiring after news? What can be more new than that a Macedonian should conquer Athens and enslave Greece?" And when the spirits of the Athenians began to revive, upon learning that Philip was sick, Demosthenes enquired into the grounds of their exultation. "What then? Suppose he dies; you will soon create another Philip, if you manage your affairs as heretofore."

Demosthenes then exhorts the Athenians to lay aside their present apathy, to contribute liberally to the necessities of the state; to put no confidence in mercenaries, but take the field in person. He then proposes to apply the theatrical fund to the service of the state, and, in spite of the entreaties and menaces of the rich, to render the burthen of the *trierarchy* more fair and equal. If the Athenians did all this, he was confident that Philip, the barbarian, must be driven back, and his dominion reduced to its ancient limits. He shewed that Philip possessed peculiar facilities for the execution of his plans; he was at once king, general, and treasurer. This gave rapidity to his movements; and by his address, conceding when concession was advisable, and threatening when threats would be advantageous, he was enabled to turn every circumstance to account. He derived the greatest advantage in the prosecution of his enterprises from his local position, which enabled him to send forth his armies and fleets, when the Etesian winds² prevented the Athenians from sailing towards the north. The craft of Philip was, therefore, to be met by the energy of the Athenians; for, if the Athenians had been true to themselves, he would never have been in possession of Pydna, Potidæa, Methone, and the circumjacent country.

¹ Generally speaking, the Athenians never resolved upon an undertaking till after a stormy and unprofitable debate, and most frequently when the favourable moment had elapsed.—*Dem. Ol.* iii. 29. 23.

² Winds that return *annually* at certain seasons.—*Dem. Phil.* i. 48. 24.

He also pointed out to the Athenians the many elements of weakness in the condition of Philip; for it was not to be imagined that "Philip like a god, enjoyed his prosperity for ever, fixed and immutable." "The eyes of all men were now opened; his duplicity and selfishness were manifest; his allies would desert him on the first reverse of fortune; the Thessalians, 'who were faithless by nature, at all times and to all men,' were exhibiting a feeling of hostility; the Pæonians, Illyrians, and, in short, all those tribes, would doubtless prefer liberty to slavery. Even the Macedonians themselves were tired with the burthens and expenses of the war; they were compelled to neglect the cultivation of their lands, and the improvement of their property; whilst the blocking up of the harbours and trading marts prevented them from enjoying the fruits of their labours, as under other circumstances, they would have enjoyed them." Such were the principles, the thoughts, and the hopes of Demosthenes, by which he endeavoured to rouse the Athenians to a sense of their danger and the defence of their country.

From the remarks of Demosthenes we perceive that the mercenary system, which had prevailed during the Peloponnesian war, attained its zenith in the time of Philip. The number of citizens who bore arms perceptibly diminished; they daily grew more remiss in arming for the common cause, and the calculations of profit as much injured the military operations of the Greeks themselves,¹ as they promoted the custom of serving for pay. To this must be added, the real privation caused by the increasing impoverishment of their native country; and when we reflect that life was as much exposed to danger in civil feuds at home, as in the field of battle, we need hardly be surprised at the statement of Isocrates, that "larger and better armies could be formed from mercenaries than citizens."² It was

¹ *Isocrat. Areop.* 246.

² *Isoc. Ep. ix.* 762.—Μείζονες καὶ κρείττους συντάξεις στρατοπέδων γιγνομένης ἐκ τῶν πλανωμένων ἢ τῶν πολιτευομένων.

natural that armies thus constituted should be indifferent to the cause they fought for. The pledges for the freedom, independence, and security of a state, existing in the patriotism and affection of its citizens, were gradually destroyed; while their strength was measured by the wavering standard of riches alone. The command of these itinerant bands gave a fictitious importance to their generals,¹ who sometimes made attempts to attain sovereign power;² and the soldiery, as may easily be supposed, frequently committed outrages on the peaceful inhabitants of the places where they resided.³ The less capable the citizens became of wielding the sword in their own defence, the more deeply did they sink into the vortex of dissipation; while the mercenaries spent the wages of blood in the purchase of present gratifications, not knowing how much time might be left them for enjoyment.⁴

CHAPTER XXVIII.

PHILIP AND DEMOSTHENES.

Capture of Olynthus—Progress of Philip—Subjugation of the Phocians—Philip elected Member of the Amphictyonic Council—Exhortations of Demosthenes.

WHEN Philip had failed in his attempts at forcing the straits of Thermopylæ, he directed his attention towards Olynthus,⁵ a state whose power had enabled it to contend

¹ Iphicrates, though assuredly a virtuous citizen, introduced the custom of inscribing the name of the general upon the spoil, instead of that of the state only as before.—*Suidas, sub voce.*

² *Dem. in Aristoc.* v. 665. 25.

³ *Wachsmuth*, vol. ii. pp. 399-401; *Isoc. Paneg.* c. xxxiii; *Ep.* ix. 662.

⁴ *Theopomp. ap. Athen.* xii. 536.

⁵ The orations of Demosthenes against Philip are termed *Philippics*. The 2nd, 3rd, and 4th *Philippics* are termed *Olynthiacs*—their object being, as stated in the text, to stimulate the Athenians to succour Olynthus.

even with Sparta, and menace the kings of Macedonia. A considerable party had been attached in this state to the interest of Philip; and their systematic bribery enabled them to increase that influence which had originally recommended them to his attention. The reception which two natural sons of Amyntas had met with in Olynthus, furnished a pretext for the war; and Philip, with his usual rapidity, invaded the territory of the city. The Olynthians, in their distress, supplicated assistance from the Athenians; and Demosthenes gave his powerful support to their claims. He represented to the Athenians the advantage of having a formidable enemy in the neighbourhood of Philip, and particularly one that, from woeful experience, could put no confidence in his promises and treaties. "With every thing else on our side," said the orator, "let us not be wanting to ourselves; let us not be reproached with the unspeakable infamy of throwing away not only those cities and territories which we inherited from our ancestors, but those occasions and alliances offered us by fortune and the gods" (349 B. C.).

Two thousand men and thirty ships were despatched to their assistance; but this force, as usual, consisted of mercenaries. The expedition, however, was a failure. The leader, Chares, had not the requisite qualifications of a general, whilst the want of money afforded him and his men a plea for gratifying their avarice or ambition, by expeditions on their own account. "Scarcely have they drawn their sword for their country," said Demosthenes, "before they scamper hither and thither, and their generals follow them." Chares made a descent on the coast of Pallene, where he obtained a contemptible victory over Audæus, which "served only to amuse the comic poets of the day." His marches and countermarches in this expedition were so mysterious, that the Athenians were obliged to go in quest of him; Antiochus being commissioned to "seek the general, and tell him, in case he should meet with him, that the Athenians were wondering whether

Philip was engaged in an expedition against the Chersonese, and that they were in a state of complete ignorance as to the locality which he himself, and the army sent out with him, occupied." On his return, Chares extorted the sum of fifty talents from the Phocians, who, at that time, were in actual alliance with the Athenians.

No good could be expected to accrue to the Olynthians from such assistance. In the mean time, they had been shut up within the walls of their city; they had lost Stagyra, Mecyberna, Torone. A second embassy was sent from Olynthus to Athens to solicit assistance; and they were not a little surprised, upon their arrival, to find the Athenians enjoying the imaginary triumph of Chares. Demosthenes, in supporting the prayer of the Olynthians, warned the Athenians against the counsels of those smooth-tongued orators who consulted their temporary gratification, rather than their permanent interest. He insisted upon the necessity of applying those sums expended in public amusements,¹ to the necessities of the state, and of repealing those laws which screened from justice the coward who declined the service. The Athenians, however, instead of taking the field in person, sent a body of foreign infantry, amounting to four thousand, with a hundred and fifty horse, under the command of Charidemus. But the insolence of these troops was more dangerous to the Olynthians than the enemy itself. A third reinforcement was sent, which arrived, however, too late; for Philip, in the mean time, had obtained possession of the city, by the treachery of the commanders, Lasthenes and Euthykrates. The houses were destroyed, and the inhabitants sold for slaves; for Philip had lost many men during the siege, and he imagined that this salutary example would deter the neighbouring cities from opposing his measures (348 B. C.).

¹ On the motion of Eubulus, it had been decreed a capital crime to propose the application of the theatrical fund to the purposes of war.

The conquest of Olynthus was an important advantage to Philip. It put him in possession of the region of Chalcis—his connection with the sea was rendered more extensive, whilst, at the same time, his kingdom was less exposed to attack. This success stimulated him to embark in fresh enterprises, and, as Demosthenes had predicted, to aim more directly at Athens, the centre of Grecian energy. "If Philip conquers Olynthus, tell me, O men of Athens, what will prevent him from turning his arms whithersoever he will? The restless activity of the Macedonian will never permit him to live at ease, satisfied with his present achievements."

There were now two points that attracted the attention of Philip. The first was the possession of the Hellespont, so intimately connected with the commerce of the Athenians, as it communicated with the fertile shores of the Euxine; and the second the possession of Thermopylæ, which was considered, in every age, the key to Greece. The distracted condition of that country afforded him a favourable opportunity. The Sacred War was still raging, and both parties were in a state of complete exhaustion. The Thebans were without money—without resources; and they beheld even a portion of Bœotia in the hands of the Phocians. On the other hand, the Phocians plundered the sacred treasures, whilst the intense hatred of the two parties rendered reconciliation impossible. In this extremity, the Thebans had recourse to Philip, who immediately saw that the straits of Thermopylæ, after the possession of which he had so long panted, would now be secured. Greater danger could hardly have threatened Greece from any quarter; but still her efforts were completely paralyzed. As Thebes was exhausted, Philip must of course offer himself to Arcadia, Messene, and Argos, as the most powerful auxiliaries. Demosthenes, indeed, as Athenian ambassador, went through the Peloponnesus, endeavouring to prevent, or dissolve these connections—but with indifferent success. "The

Peloponnesus," says Demosthenes, "was distracted, whilst neither the enemies of Sparta were strong enough to subjugate Sparta, nor those who had hitherto ruled through Sparta, to retain dominion of the cities."

In the mean time, the insidious policy of Philip was at work to delude and baffle the Athenians. The player, Neoptolemus, was instructed to proclaim at Athens the willingness of Philip to enter into a treaty of peace; and the account which Phrynon, who had been taken prisoner by some Macedonian soldiers, gave of the clemency with which he had been treated, entirely removed from the minds of the Athenians any remains of animosity they might harbour against Philip. The volatile Athenians were eager, therefore, to close with the offer. Even Demosthenes yielded to the torrent; and imagining that a bad peace was better than a bad war, he supported a decree of Philocrates, for sending a herald and ambassadors to discover the real intentions of Philip. Negotiations were commenced, and twelve ambassadors were despatched from Athens, amongst whom were Demosthenes, and his celebrated rival, Æschines. The history of the embassy is somewhat obscure, and afterwards became the source of mutual recrimination between Demosthenes and Æschines. Demosthenes accused his rival¹ of either being bribed by Philip, or overreached by him as an orator and a diplomatist; while Æschines charged Demosthenes with sticking fast in his speech to Philip, and being able to bring nothing forth. With respect to the first point, we may observe, that Æschines was tried for "malversation in the embassy" and acquitted; but as his trial and acquittal took place three years after the alleged crime had been

¹ In his speech, *Περὶ τῆς Παραπροσβείας*, "against Æschines, for the unfaithful manner in which he had executed his embassy to Philip." Demosthenes, in his oration *de Coronâ*, speaks of the vast number of traitors, bribe-takers, and men odious to the gods, who were the coadjutors of Philip in every state of Greece, p. 245, 14. Cf. p. 241, 26. 324, 5.

committed, and when the Macedonian party had gained the ascendant at Athens—it can hardly be considered as conclusive of his innocence. With respect to the second point, we may observe, that Demosthenes, whose oratory was of a broader and more popular cast, would hardly feel at ease in bandying compliments before a monarch whom his sarcasm had so often offended; and his personal embarrassment, at the conference, having become the subject of mirth and raillery among his colleagues, might dispose him to look back with a prejudiced eye upon a transaction in which he had obtained so little credit.

In the mean time, Philip, keeping his eye steadily on the Hellespont, made war upon the Thracian king, Chersobleptes, an ally of Athens, who would, of course, be included in the peace. The peace was not as yet concluded; and the ambassadors, among whom was Æschines, instead of following Philip as quickly as possible, in order to obtain the ratification of the treaty, delayed their departure until the defeat of Chersobleptes. Encouraged by this success, Philip attacked Serrium and Doriscus, cities belonging to Athens; and, on being remonstrated with by Euclides, who was specially despatched, he merely replied that there was no mention of those cities in the peace which had been recently signed, though not yet ratified. The Athenian ambassadors arrived at Pella in twenty-five days, a journey which might have been performed in six; and then, instead of proceeding to Philip, who was employed in reducing the cities on the Propontis, they patiently waited above three weeks the return of the monarch to his capital; and what is still more singular, upon his return, they accepted his invitation to accompany him to Thessaly, in order to settle affairs in that country.

Philip was now in a state to attack the Phocians. His main object was therefore to blind the Athenians as to his real intentions; and in the furtherance of this object, he found Æschines very serviceable. The king, according to

Demosthenes, bribed the ambassadors to delay their journey, until his preparations were in a forward state. On their return, Æschines enlarged upon the advantages which would accrue to Athens from her alliance with Philip. Thebes would be humbled; Thespiæ and Platææ would be restored to their pristine dignity; Eubœa would in all probability be restored as an equivalent for Amphipolis; and he also hinted at the recovery of Oropus, on the Athenian frontier, which had been long subject to Thebes. The Athenians thanked Philip for his friendly intentions; and as it was understood that the Phocians should submit to the Amphictyonic council—*they* also rejected the proffered assistance of Sparta, whose king, Archidamus, was marching to their relief.

All suspicion was set at rest by the insidious policy of Philip, and he was in possession of Thermopylæ before the Athenians were properly aware of it. Having arrived in Greece—in order to palsy any attempt to assist the Phocians—he gave out, by means of his friends and retainers, that he did not intend to disturb Phocis, but rather to humiliate Thebes, and that he would resign Eubœa to Athens, in the stead of Amphipolis. But the Greeks were soon awakened from their dream. Phalæcus, the Phocian general, was permitted to retreat to the Peloponnesus with his army; and thus Phocis, bereft of troops, and unassisted by Athens, fell, without striking a blow, under the power of Philip. The Phocians, notwithstanding the declaration of Philip that he would plead their cause before the council of the Amphictyons, were treated with every species of barbarity which could be dictated by the resentment of their unrelenting enemies, the Locrians, Thebans, and Thessalians (347 B. C.). The intelligence respecting this defeat threw the Athenians into the greatest consternation, and a decree was immediately passed, that the inhabitants resident within twelve miles of the city should be summoned to its defence, while those at a greater distance should repair to the fortresses, particularly Eleusis, Phyle,

Sunium, and Aphidna. Philip notified in a letter to the Athenians, that he had passed Thermopylæ, and subjugated the Phocians. "I hear that you are preparing to assist them—you may spare yourselves further trouble. You have made a peace with me, but the Phocians were not included in that peace."

This was the language of a conqueror, and the use which he now made of his victory would exhibit merely his natural mildness and generosity. Too far distant to chastise the Thebans, he resigned to them Orchomenus, Coronea, &c., which were previously in the possession of the Phocians, and he did not demand the restoration of Thespiæ and Platææ, as he had promised to the Athenians. The resolutions of the Amphictyonic council—where Theban and Thessalian influence was predominant—were altogether in the interest of Philip. The refugee Phocians, and those who had taken part in the plundering of the temple were accursed—the rest were compelled to give up their arms; to keep no horses; and, after the destruction of their cities, to reside only in villages, which must at least be a stadium apart from each other. Their land was considered as the property of the Delphic god, and for permission to cultivate it, they were bound to pay annually 60 talents at Delphi (346 B. C.).

The Phocians lost, moreover, their seat and voice in the Amphictyonic council. Philip was elected to fill the vacancy; and, in conjunction with the Thebans and Thesalians, he held the presidency of the Pythian games. He had thus obtained a *legal* influence in Grecian affairs. The Amphictyons ratified all his transactions—erected his statue in the temple of Delphi, and acknowledged, by a solemn decree, the kingdom of Macedon as the principal member of the Hellenic body. These measures were effected with the zealous concurrence, and at the instigation of Thebes.¹

¹ Θηβαῖοι δ' ἦσαν οἱ κατασκάπτοντες. *Dem. de Fals. Legat.* 445. 25.

Along with other important advantages, Philip had also the credit of having terminated the Sacred War, whilst the possession of Thermopylæ brought him nearer the attainment of the grand object of his ambition—the subjugation of Greece.

The blow was felt severely by Athens. She did not send her usual deputies to the sittings of the Amphictyonic council, for she was apprehensive of giving any sanction to the resolutions which had communicated the right of membership to Philip. Besides protesting against the admission of Philip into the Amphictyonic council, she offered an asylum to the Phocian fugitives, and prepared to fortify the Piræus and the fortresses. Demosthenes, however, who understood thoroughly the present position of Greece, advised the Athenians to adhere to the peace,¹ and not to go to war on account of that ‘shadow at Delphi,’ as he termed the Amphictyonic privilege. “What I counsel you to do,” said the orator, “is this—to avoid any war which may furnish a common complaint—a common pretext. For if the Argives, Messenians, Megalopolitans, and other Peloponnesian states have a hostile feeling towards us on account of our friendship with Sparta; if the Thebans feel their ancient enmity reviving, because we protected their exiles; the Thessalians, because we protect the Phocians; and Philip, because we set ourselves in opposition to the Amphictyonic council;—I am afraid that all of them, seizing upon the resolution of the Amphictyons as a pretext, will make common war upon us, in order to gratify their individual enmity.” The reasoning of Demosthenes was convincing; the Athenians yielded to necessity, and adhered to the peace. Philip, before evacuating Greece, placed a strong garrison in Nicæa, in order to secure his free passage on any future occasion through the Straits of Thermopylæ (346 B. C.).

¹ In his speech, *Περὶ τῆς Βιρρόνης*.

² *Ἡ ἐν Δελφοῖς σκιά* became proverbial.

CHAPTER XXIX.

PHILIP AND DEMOSTHENES.

Warnings of Demosthenes—Comotions in Thrace—Attacks on Perinthus and Byzantium—Second Sacred War.

No great length of time elapsed, however, before it became evident that the peace of Philip was merely an armistice—a cessation from hostilities. But the Greeks, as a nation, had basely compromised their own liberty. Instead of resisting the inroads of the common enemy, they had listened only to the dictates of individual jealousy. When they saw their neighbour-states writhing under the grasp of Philip, they congratulated themselves upon their own escape—forgetting that the evil day, like the periodical attack of a fever or other malady, must at length reach those from whom it was then apparently the most remote. “I know not,” said Demosthenes, “by what fatality the Greeks look on the successive encroachments of Philip, not as events which their vigorous and united opposition might ward off and repel, but as disasters inflicted by the hand of Providence; as a tempestuous cloud of hail, so destructive to the vines in autumn, which all behold with horror hovering over them, but none take any other means to prevent, than by deprecating the gods that it might not fall upon their own fields.”

Demosthenes, however, did not give up his country in despair; and he still cherished the idea of uniting the Greek states in one common bond. He was particularly earnest in his warnings to the Peloponnesus, where Philip had formed an intimate connexion with Argos, Messene, Elis, and the Arcadians. He recalled to their minds the fate of Olynthus. “At present ye see only Philip the generous, the magnificent promiser; but, if ye are wise, pray the gods that ye may never see Philip the cheat and

deceiver." His warnings did find acceptance for the moment; but the Peloponnesians soon returned to their hankering after Philip; and Demosthenes was compelled to exclaim, that, "if all were prepared for slavery, Athens at least must contend for liberty."

Demosthenes now urged the matter upon the attention of the Athenians with renewed vigour. Even the dullest could not but perceive the rapidly growing power of Philip, and sought fresh excuses for their indolence; but Demosthenes deprived them of every pretext. To those who gave out that Philip was not so powerful as the Lacedæmonians had been, who had exercised supreme dominion by land and sea, and to whom the state had never yet submitted—he demonstrated how far they had deviated from the simplicity of the ancient times. "Affairs are now no longer decided by battles in the open field; traitors ruin all. Philip does not move now, as formerly, with a phalanx of heavy-armed men, but with an army composed of light infantry and cavalry, and foreign archers. He hastens from one place to another; he falls upon cities in which dissension is reigning; he fights without paying any regard to the difference between summer and winter." Demosthenes exhorted them to assume the offensive, to attack Philip in his own country, and not to wait till he had formally broken the peace. "Peace," he observed, "was no longer in their power; Philip gradually carried on a vast system of hostile ambition, dismembering their possessions, debauching their allies, paring their dominions around, that he might at length attack the centre, unguarded and defenceless" (344 B. C.).

Some commotions occurred now in Thrace of considerable importance. The Athenians, in order to maintain their influence in the Thracian Chersonese, sent thither a number of armed citizens as colonists. Diopithes, the leader, got into a quarrel with the inhabitants of Cardia, who would not recognize the right of the Athenians to their territory, and applied, therefore, to Philip for assistance. Philip made

use of this circumstance to represent Diopieithes as the violator of the peace—calculating upon the support of a strong party in Athens, headed by mercenary orators, who were in favour of its preservation. Demosthenes, however, took an opposite view of the question.¹ He represented to the Athenians the necessity of increasing rather than diminishing their force in the Chersonese; an army of observation might check the progress of Philip. "You must hold it as a matter of firm belief," said the orator, "that Philip has broken the peace, and is at war with your republic; that he is an enemy to your city, to the ground on which it stands, to all those who inhabit it, and, not least, to such as are most distinguished by its favours." The Athenians, however, were again too late, and did nothing more but shew their ill-will towards Philip by speeches, resolutions, and embassies, denouncing him as a barbarian and an usurper (343 B. C.).

Peace and war were now no longer a matter of choice; and this opinion rapidly gained ground when Philip made a vigorous attack upon Perinthus,² a powerful commercial city on the banks of the Propontis. Byzantium saw itself threatened with the fate of Olynthus, and immediately despatched men and warlike machines to the assistance of Perinthus; and Persia, who felt no desire that Philip should establish himself on her boundaries, distributed gold amongst the most eminent of the Grecian demagogues (341 B. C.).

A strong reinforcement of men in Persian pay, commanded by Apollodorus, an Athenian citizen, was despatched; and 120 ships sailed from Athens for Perinthus. Though Philip sent an epistle to the Athenians in which he attempted to justify his own conduct, and reproached Athens for having made common cause with the Persian monarch, yet

¹ In his speech *Περὶ τῶν ἐν Χερσονήσῳ Πραγμάτων ἢ ὁ περὶ Διοπίθεως*, "On the Events in the Chersonese, or on Diopieithes."

² This is the subject of the 3rd *Philippic*. The 4th *Philippic* was pronounced when Philip had raised the siege of Perinthus to fall upon Byzantium.

public opinion still continued to be with Demosthenes, and the war was vigorously prosecuted. Byzantium, however, refused to receive the commander, Chares, because, after the war of the allies, he had been entrusted with the commission of reducing the coasts and islands again under the dominion of Athens.

Phocion was therefore appointed to supersede him, and confidence restored. Chios, Rhodes, Cos, &c. sent ships, and Philip was compelled to draw off his troops from Perinthus—foiled by the obstinacy of the besieged, and the advantageous situation of the town, which, rising in the form of an amphitheatre, enabled them to overlook the operations of the besiegers. Philip next proceeded to lay siege to Byzantium; but the seasonable arrival of the fleet under Phocion compelled him to raise the siege, and leave the Athenians in possession of the northern shores of the Propontis. Many other places were also wrested from him; his fleets were defeated, and all his plans on the Hellespont frustrated. The liberated states manifested their gratitude to Athens by sending golden crowns and considerable sums of money, and conferring upon her citizens the rights of intermarriage, the privilege of purchasing lands in their territories, the freedom of their respective cities, and, if resident, exemption from all taxes. Demosthenes afterwards referred with pride to his services on this occasion; "You have frequently, men of Athens! rewarded with crowns the statesmen most successful in conducting your affairs. But name, if you can, any other counsellor, any other statesman, by whose means the state itself hath been thus honoured" (340 B. C.).

Philip, however, soon found a fresh opportunity of interfering in the affairs of Greece. During the vernal assembly of the Amphictyons at Delphi, objections were made respecting some golden shields—sent by the Athenians to be suspended in the temple—as not regularly consecrated. But the real offence was to be found in the

inscription, "Taken from the Medes and *Thebans*, when they fought against Greece." Æschines delivered a spirited defence of his countrymen, but was rudely interrupted by a Locrian of Amphisssa, who remarked that, "if the Amphictyons consulted the dictates of duty and honour, they would not permit the name of the Athenians, who had so recently abetted the detestable sacrilege of the Phocians, to be mentioned in that august assembly." Upon this, Æschines directed the attention of the Amphictyons to the Cirrhæan plain, which might be seen from the temple. "Behold these lands," he cried, "anciently devoted to the god, but now appropriated and cultivated by the Amphisssæans; behold the numerous buildings which they have erected there, and that accursed port of Cirrha, justly demolished by our ancestors, now rebuilt and fortified."—"Hear the words of the imprecation, not only against those who cultivate the sacred ground, but against those who neglect to punish them. 'May they never present an acceptable offering to Apollo, Diana, Latona, or Minerva the provident; but may all their sacrifices and religious rites be for ever rejected and abhorred!'" (339 B. C.)

This speech occasioned the utmost confusion in the assembly; and it was determined that, on the morrow, the Amphictyons, having summoned the assistance of the citizens of Delphi, should proceed to burn, cut down, and destroy the houses and plantations which defiled the sacred territory. They met with little opposition in the execution of this determination; but, upon their return, they were attacked and routed by a numerous party of Amphisssæans. It was now determined that the punishment of the Locrians should be undertaken by the confederate Greeks. As the matter, however, proceeded languidly, Æschines and his accomplices saw a favourable opportunity of calling in the assistance of the pious king of Macedon. Demosthenes, who perceived the danger of a general arming of the Greeks with Philip at their head, advised the Athenians to take no part in the

proceedings. The remaining states, however, and particularly the Thessalians, were bent upon the war, and they virtually chose Philip as the leader of the sacred army.

This afforded Philip a favourable opportunity of marching into the very heart of Greece. The Athenians and a party in Thebes endeavoured secretly to support Phocis, by procuring 10,000 mercenaries; but these were easily overpowered by the 20,000 infantry and 2,000 horse of Philip. Philip did not return home, but spent the winter in Locris, to the terror of the Athenians and Thebans, who were now convinced that the grand struggle was approaching. The Athenians despatched their ablest orators through Greece to rouse the people from their apathy. They were favourably received by Megara, Eubœa, Corinth, Leucas, Corcyra, and Achaia, who entered into a league against Macedon. Philip, in order to facilitate his victory, laboured to gain the Thebans, through whose territory he must pass to invade Attica, over to his side, by sowing jealousy between them and the Athenians; but, on the other hand, Demosthenes made every exertion to frustrate his machinations.

CHAPTER XXX.

PHILIP AND DEMOSTHENES.

Alarm at Athens—Efforts of Demosthenes—Battle of Chæronea—Preparations for the Asiatic Invasion—Death of Philip.

THE sudden possession and fortification of Elatea—a city situated between two ranges of mountains opening into Phocis and Bœotia—by Philip, convinced the Thebans that his intentions were of a hostile character. He now commanded the passage into Bœotia, and was distant only two days' march from Attica. The news arrived at Athens towards evening; the greatest anxiety prevailed during the

night; the people rushed to the market-place, and pulled down the booths of the tradesmen and artificers in order to make room for the assembly. On the following morning, when the people were assembled, and the herald called upon those "who had anything to offer on the present emergency to mount the rostrum," nobody came forward to give counsel, or, in the language of Demosthenes, "nobody obeyed the voice of his country, imploring the assistance of her children." Demosthenes at last came forward. He did not consider opposition to the well-disciplined army of the Macedonians as madness; he required the Athenians to despatch all their youth, horse and foot, to Eleusis—to send two hundred ships to Thermopylæ, and to solicit co-operation on the part of Thebes. All these propositions were accepted, and Demosthenes himself was despatched to Thebes, to execute the most difficult but most important part of the business.

Here Demosthenes was called upon to compete with the ambassadors of the king. Python, their most distinguished orator, from Byzantium, stood forward in the assembly. He did not omit to represent to the Thebans any of the advantages which might accrue from a union with Philip, or any of the dangers which might result from an armed power, like that of the Athenians, in their immediate vicinity; neither did he forget to state the manifold provocations which Thebes had experienced on the part of Athens, and the possibility that now existed of gratifying their vengeance; in fact, he brought together with infinite skill whatever could inflame the resentment of the Thebans. Demosthenes, however, still surpassed him in the art of oratory. He dwelt upon the friendship which had existed between Thebes and Athens as early as the time of CEdipus—he conjured them to forget whatever had occurred of an unfriendly nature in these latter times, and to remember that they had always contended honourably as Greeks with each other about the ascendancy; but now they must, indeed, combine, when a stranger wished to exercise supreme dominion. He

represented to them the glory of the Hellenic name, and the courage of their ancestors—the powerful assistance with which Athens was ready to support them—the disgrace of slavery, if Philip should be victor; and the futility of all his promises.

The language of Demosthenes flowed like a torrent, and brought over the vacillating Thebans to the side of the Athenians. They laid aside all their former mistrust and jealousy, and made preparations for the struggle with the utmost activity. The united forces, amounting to thirty thousand men, hastened to meet the king on the plain of Chæronea, which Philip had selected as well adapted for the operations of the Macedonian phalanx. On the one side he had in view the temple of Hercules, from whom the Macedonian Kings were descended, and, on the other, the banks of the Thermodon, frequently announced by oracles as the destined scene of desolation and woe to Greece. The Athenian generals, Lysicles and Chares, were men of no military reputation; and the Theban general, Theagenes, was even suspected of treachery. The Athenians, however, broke the right wing of the Macedonians, commanded by Philip in person; while Alexander repulsed the Thebans. The Athenians, elated with success, pressed forward against the fugitives; but Philip, having gained an adjacent eminence, poured down with his troops and defeated the enemy, already in disorder, with a loss of 1,000 killed. The sacred band of Thebes, which had decided so many important victories, was cut down to a man by Alexander. Even the victors shed tears when they beheld them lying in close order, covered with honourable wounds, and breathing defiance in death (338 B. C.).¹

The first news of this defeat filled the Athenians with consternation. A part of the people wished, indeed, to venture another struggle. The orator, Hyperides, proposed

¹ Hic dies universæ Græciæ et gloriam dominationis et vetustissimam libertatem finivit.—*Justin*, ix. 23.

to provide for the defence of the city by restoring their legal rights to those who had been deprived of them, by converting the resident aliens into citizens, and by raising the slaves to the condition of resident aliens. But this outbreak of passion was only temporary, and the Athenians were compelled to yield to necessity. Satisfied that they had done everything in their power to vindicate their honour and defend their country, they permitted Demosthenes to deliver a funeral oration¹ over the thousand that had fallen; and they condemned Lysicles to death, because it was unbecoming that he should live whose generalship had been signalized by the death of so many brave men, and the disgrace of those who survived. "You," said his accuser, Lycurgus, "were our commander on that inglorious day; and still *you* breathe the vital air, and appear in our public places, a living monument of the disgrace and ruin of your country." Demosthenes, in his funeral oration, compared the loss of the warriors at Chæronea to "taking the sun from the world"—"the original glory of Greece was buried in darkness and ignominy."

The conduct of Philip, after the victory, was characterized by the utmost generosity and mildness. When advised by his generals to advance into Attica, and to render himself master of Athens, he only replied, "Have I done so much for glory, and shall I destroy the theatre of that glory?"² He accorded peace to the Athenians on the most reasonable conditions—he restored their prisoners without ransom—he introduced no garrison into Athens as into Thebes, but merely required that she should send representatives to the

¹ Ἐπιτάφιος Λόγος. To Athens the immediate consequence of this overthrow was the loss of the sovereignty of the seas, and of her foreign possessions, for which the acquisition of Oropus formed but a trifling compensation. She was, however, more fortunate than her confederates, since, although obliged to concur in the decrees by which the whole of Greece acknowledged, first Philip, and then Alexander, as their generalissimo against the Persians, she still succeeded in maintaining her civil independence, even under the latter.—*Hermann*, pp. 360, 361.

² *Plut. in Dem.*

meeting of all the states, which he summoned at Corinth. He made her a present of Oropus, the possession of which she had formerly disputed with Thebes. He also treated Sparta with similar kindness, and did everything in his power to allay existing enmities and jealousies. Philip was too politic to declare himself king of the Greeks, being well aware that the people ever manifest a greater attachment to names and forms, than to things themselves. But Thebes, the faithless ally of Philip, was treated with greater severity. She was compelled to receive back three hundred of her fugitives; the government was delivered into the hands of such as were known to be in the interests of Macedonia, and Orchomenus and Plataeæ were rebuilt.

In the congress at Corinth, from which the ambassadors of Sparta alone were absent, Philip stated to the representatives of the Greek states, that the grand object of all the steps that he had hitherto taken, was the subjugation of Persia. He now required them to elect him generalissimo for the expedition, and to furnish him with men and ships for its prosecution. Philip no longer appeared as an enemy, but as the protector and avenger of the Greeks. He himself made preparations for the expedition during a whole year; and he despatched Parmenio and Attalus with a Macedonian army to gain over the Greek cities in Asia Minor. The Greeks everywhere flocked to the standard of Philip, remembering the injuries which they had received of old from Persia, but forgetting that the subjugation of Persia would only tend to establish the dominion of Macedonia in Greece.¹

An unexpected event, however, put an end for the present to this ambitious enterprise. Previous to his setting out

¹ When the states had ascertained the contingent of troops which they could respectively raise, the whole, exclusive of the Macedonians, amounted to two hundred and twenty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse, *Justin.* ix. c. v. "But," observes Wachsmuth, "it is a gross delusion to speak of twenty myriads of infantry and fifteen thousand horse; all the Grecian states together could not have mustered half the number"—Vol. ii. p. 492.

upon his expedition, Philip celebrated the nuptials of his daughter with Alexander king of Epirus. The artistical contests that took place on the occasion, induced many Greeks to attend; and the Greek states sent golden crowns to Philip as a testimony of their respect. Whilst Philip, amidst the pomp and festivity, was entering the theatre, at some distance from his body-guard—exhibiting to the Greeks a sense of his own security—he was stabbed by Pausanias, one of his own guards. This Pausanias had experienced a grievous insult from Attalus, one of the friends of Philip; and Philip had disregarded his remonstrances respecting it. A wild thirst for vengeance induced him to commit the murder, though some suppose that Persia had a share in its commission, while others ascribe it to his imperious and jealous queen Olympias. The event caused great excitement among the Greeks; the Athenians were overjoyed; fresh courage and fresh hopes were awakened in the breast of Demosthenes (336 B. C.).

CHAPTER XXXI.

ALEXANDER.

Birth and Education of Alexander—Fate of Thebes—Battle of the Granicus—Conquest of Asia Minor—Battle of Issus.

THE great king, whose achievements will now occupy our attention, and whose victories connected the empires of Asia with the progress of European civilization, created a new era in the history of Greece and of the world. Many particulars have been recorded respecting the birth, education, and youth of Alexander, which have been considered as indicative of his future greatness. The celebrated temple of Diana at Ephesus was burnt on the same night in which he

was born, by Herostratus, with no other intention than that of immortalizing his own name. Aristotle, the Stagyræite, and founder of the Peripatetic school of philosophy, was entrusted with the care of his education; and Alexander exhibited his gratitude towards his instructor by supplying him during his Asiatic expedition with every species of animal for the prosecution of his researches in natural history.² We are told that Alexander was so partial to Homer, that he kept his poems always under his pillow.³ When solicited to take a part in the Olympic games, he answered, "that he would, if kings were his competitors." Whenever a report was brought him of a victory obtained by his father, he lamented that "his father would leave nothing for him to do." One day he astonished his father and his courtiers by his address in the management of the celebrated horse Bucephalus, until his father, who had conceived the animal to be perfectly intractable, exclaimed, "My son! seek another kingdom, for Macedonia is too small for thee." By a life of continual labour, and by an early and habitual practice of the gymnastic exercises, he had hardened his body against the impressions of cold and heat, hunger and thirst.⁴

¹ A letter is extant, addressed by Philip to Aristotle, in which Philip states that "a son is born to him; but he is grateful to the gods, not so much for the birth of the boy, as that he was born in the time of Aristotle," &c.

² Ten books of this *History of Animals* are still extant; Pliny says that it extended to fifty volumes (viii. 16).

³ Aristotle is known to have made a new collection of the *Iliad* expressly for the use of Alexander. It was treasured by Alexander with extraordinary care in the precious casket found among the spoils of Darius; whence it obtained the name of "the *Iliad*, ἐκ τοῦ νάβητος," "of the casket." From a letter to Aristotle, it appears that the royal pupil was desirous of monopolizing the knowledge of his Tutor; he complains of the publication of the secret wisdom, in which he himself had been disciplined; but Aristotle replies, "that the books alluded to were as if they had not been published, since, without his oral instruction, they would be unintelligible." These, we presume, belonged to the class of *esoteric* or *acroamatic* philosophy, and could not be understood without an acquaintance with the philosopher's system and terminology.

⁴ *Plut. Orat. i. et ii. de Fortun. Alexand.*

In the twenty-first year of his age, Alexander, by the death of his father, became king of Macedonia; and his first object was to obtain a confirmation of the dignity held by his father, in the general assembly of the Greek states at Corinth. The Asiatic expedition, however, was put off for some time by disturbances nearer home. The death of Philip had caused a general excitement amongst the northern barbarians; and Alexander was compelled to reduce the Illyrians, Thracians, Triballi, &c. to obedience by force of arms. Whilst he was thus occupied, and various rumours respecting his defeat or death were circulated in Greece, and eagerly listened to—Thebes attacked the Macedonian garrison in the Cadmea, and called upon all the other Greek states to strike for freedom. The call of Thebes was in some measure responded to; the Ætolians prepared to assist them; the Athenian demagogues resumed courage; and the Lacedæmonians exhibited disaffection. But Alexander appeared before Thebes before succour could reach it from any other state. Being well aware that the question now was, whether Macedonia was to be powerful and respected, or weak and ever in fear of rebellion—he determined to act with promptitude and decision. The Thebans, indeed, fought gallantly, but they could not resist the impetuosity of Alexander. The treatment which they experienced at the hands of the conqueror was extremely harsh. The whole city was destroyed, with the exception of the temples, and the house of Pindar; and all the citizens, exceeding 30,000 in number, were either put to death or sold for slaves, except the descendants of that celebrated poet, the sacred families, and those connected with Macedon by the ties of hospitality. Justice requires us to remark, that the Greeks were more active even than the Macedonians in this scene of barbarity, and that Alexander afterwards sincerely repented of it (335 B. C.).

The example of Thebes was a terrible lesson, and enabled Alexander to temper his conduct with clemency towards

the other Greek states. He did not insist upon the Athenians giving up their orators—Demosthenes, Lycurgus, Hyperides, &c. to whose inflammatory speeches he ascribed their seditious spirit—as he had at first demanded. The intervention of Phocion and Demades averted from Athens the vengeance of the conqueror. Athens was declared free, and made a most honourable use of her liberty, by publicly mourning the disasters of Thebes, and granting an asylum to the Theban exiles.¹ In order to render the peace of Greece still more secure, he draughted the most warlike characters from the several cities into his own army, and he left Antipater, his general, with an army of 20,000 men to maintain domestic tranquillity. Before he set out, he consulted the Delphic god; but the *Pythia*, or priestess, alleging that it was an illegal day, refused to give a response. Alexander, however, took her by force into the sanctuary, upon which she exclaimed, “O son, thou art invincible!” Alexander immediately set her at liberty, declaring that he wanted no other oracle.

The army of Alexander did not amount to more than 30,000 infantry, and 5000 cavalry;² and with this inconsiderable force, he meditated the destruction of the vast empire that had been founded by Cyrus. In twenty days’ march he arrived at Sestos, on the Hellespont. In his passage over into Asia he omitted nothing which could secure favourable omens for his undertaking. Like Xerxes, when

¹ *Æsch. in Ctesiph.* 544.

² If ever there was an army, therefore, which discipline could render more completely homogeneous than another, it was that of Macedon during the reigns of Philip and Alexander. The Macedonians, it is true, formed but the nucleus, as it were, of the army; and, both in the reigns of Philip and Alexander, recruits were obtained in considerable numbers from the neighbouring states of Greece. Yet it was composed exclusively of people of the same country, and the same general character, who all spoke dialects of the same language, shared a common temperament, and were distinguished by their physical configuration, no less than by their intellectual and moral attributes, from the inhabitants of the surrounding nations.—*Encyc. Britan.* ART. ARMY.

crossing the Hellespont, he poured out a libation into its waters; he leaped first on the shores of Asia; he propitiated the *manes* of Priam; he made offerings to all the Hellenic heroes before Troy, and he crowned the tomb of Achilles, declaring him to have been supremely fortunate in having "Patroclus for a friend, and Homer to celebrate his actions."—Such were the degeneracy and inactivity of the Persians, that they offered no opposition to the landing of Alexander on the coast of Asia.

A well-equipped army, led by a distinguished general, the Rhodian, Memnon, was concentrated on the banks of the Granicus—a river midway between the Hellespont and Zeleia—to dispute the passage of Alexander.¹ Parmenio endeavoured to dissuade Alexander from crossing the river in presence of the enemy, observing that it would be impossible to march the Macedonians in front, and, if they advanced in columns, their flanks must be exposed to the enemy. But in vain. The daring youth plunged into the river at the head of his Macedonians, and made good his passage. Alexander had drawn up his army with considerable skill. His waving plume rendered him a conspicuous object for the attacks of the enemy, and his life was with difficulty saved by the exertions of his friend Clitus.

The Persian cavalry,² 30,000 strong, was, on this occa-

¹ The arrangements of the Persians exhibited neither energy nor combination. Instead of defending the Hellespont, they took up their station on the Granicus, where they were more easily overpowered by the impetuosity of the Macedonian hero. Asia Minor was the prize of this victory, and the fleet equipped by the cities of Ionia was a powerful auxiliary.—*Rotteck*, ii. 131. We may observe, that Memnon was opposed to contending with the Greeks in the open field. He considered it the best policy to protract the war—to lay waste the country, in order to harass the Greeks; but his advice was rejected as unworthy the dignity of Persia.

² The strength of the Persian army consisted in its cavalry, which was always of excellent quality, and capable of achieving great things, had it been properly commanded. This was emphatically evinced at the passage of the Granicus, where its gallant conduct attracted the admiration of every officer in the Macedonian army, from the king to the humblest *dilochite* in the ranks.

sion, drawn up in a single line of equal extent with that occupied by the Macedonian army on the other side of the river. Notwithstanding the absurd principle upon which it was formed, and the total want of support, owing to the treachery or terror of the Greeks in the pay of Darius, who had been brought forward to sustain it, this cavalry bravely disputed the passage; drove Ptolemy, who commanded the vanguard of the Macedonian army, back into the river; charged the heads of the columns as they successively ascended the bank, in order to deploy, with the utmost impetuosity; and maintained the combat until it was attacked by the formidable phalanx in front, and by the light infantry on both flanks, when it was at length forced to retire.¹

The Greek mercenaries whom Alexander took prisoners, were sent bound to Macedonia as a punishment, and condemned to work in the Thracian mines, for having fought on the side of the barbarians. Brazen statues were erected by Lysippus, in honour of the twenty-five Macedonians who had fallen on the first onset; and the relations of the rest who had perished were exempted from taxes. To Athens he sent 300 shields, to be hung up, with this inscription: "Alexander, the son of Philip, and the Greeks, except the Lacedæmonians, have taken these from the barbarians in Asia;" which was calculated at once to flatter the vanity of the Athenians, and mortify the Lacedæmonians (334 B. C.).

This victory, whilst it roused the courage and the confidence of the Greeks, dispirited the Asiatics. The battle of the Granicus opened to Alexander the conquest of Ionia, Caria, and Phrygia. Dascylium, the capital of the Phrygian satrapy, opened its gates to Parmenio; and the Lydian Sardis to Alexander, whilst most of the Greek cities received their countrymen with joy. In these latter, Alexander established the democracy, in order to secure their allegiance, for the aristocratic party were mostly in the interest of Persia. As the Ephesians were employed in

¹ Art. ARMY, *Encyc. Britan.*

rebuilding the temple which had been burnt, on the night of his birth, by Herostratus, he commanded the tribute which had hitherto been paid to the Persians, to be appropriated towards its erection. Miletus and Halicarnassus, being protected by strong garrisons, and the latter also by a fleet of 400 sail, under the command of Memnon, did not yield without an obstinate struggle. Luckily Memnon died, and Alexander now made himself master of the whole coast, and thus cut off all connection between the fleet and the mainland.

Cleander was despatched into Greece to raise fresh levies; and as the soldiers were treated with every indulgence, the European subjects of Alexander exhibited the greatest alacrity in furnishing supplies for the ensuing campaign. He then marched to Aspendus, on the boundaries of Cilicia, and compelled the inhabitants to pay a tribute to Macedon, and to deliver up the horses which they reared for Darius. Having traversed again the country of the warlike Pisidians, he arrived at Gordium—the ancient residence of the Phrygian kings—which had been appointed the general rendezvous for the different sections of his army. The empire of Asia had been promised to the individual who could loose the celebrated Gordian knot. Alexander made an ineffectual attempt, and at last cut it with his sword. The voluntary submission of Paphlagonia rendered him master of all Asia Minor within the river Halys; and having forced his passage through the formidable defiles that separate Cilicia from Cappadocia, he arrived at Tarsus, the capital of Cilicia, in time to deliver it from the Persian general, who wished to destroy it previous to his flight (333 B. C.). Here Alexander had a narrow escape. Having bathed in the cold and pellucid Cydnus, he was seized with a sudden sickness, from which he recovered, with difficulty, by the administering of the most violent remedies.

In the mean time Darius was approaching with a powerful army, and not without hopes of a victory. He had still an

efficient fleet betwixt Asia and Europe; and he was also in treaty with the Spartan king Agis, about effecting a revolution in the Peloponnesus. His confidence was increased by the many Greek cities which solicited his aid and protection; and his views were rendered more discriminating, by the information he derived from the numerous Greeks resident at his court. Thirty thousand Greek mercenaries he could oppose to the Macedonian phalanx; and he deemed his own splendid cavalry, amounting also to 30,000, more than a match for the Thessalian, Thracian, Boeotian, and Macedonian cavalry of Alexander. But he virtually gave up the greater part of these advantages, when he exchanged the plains for the mountains.

Alexander, who had passed over into Syria, was not a little surprised to hear that Darius, following his destiny, had led the Persian forces into the passes of Cilicia, forgetting what had once brought destruction on the crowded masses at Marathon and Salamis.¹ Being determined to go in quest of him, he led back his troops during the night, to meet the enemy in the plain of Issus. In the drawing up of his courageous, but not very numerous army, he made use of every advantage that could be derived from the ground being too confined for the operation of the Persian masses. In a speech, which he made on the occasion, he dwelt upon the superiority which the Greeks, who fought for glory, had over the hireling Greeks who fought in the ranks of the Persians—and his own brave Thracians, Illyrians, &c., over the effeminate Asiatics. He exposed the injudicious movements of the Persians, who had quitted a spacious plain, to entangle themselves among the intricate mountains, where their numerous cavalry could perform no essential service. He reminded the individuals, who had hitherto distinguished themselves, of their achievements; and he recalled to their remembrance the Ten Thousand, in whose steps they were now treading.

¹ *Rotteck*, ii. 131.

Alexander immediately despatched some horse and archers to clear the road to Issus; and during the night he took possession of the Syrian Straits. At dawn the army was in motion; and they continued to advance, until the right wing, commanded by Alexander, was flanked by a mountain, and the left wing, led by Parmenio, was protected by the sea, from which he was ordered not to recede. The troops of Darius were posted on the Pinarus, whose banks were, in some places, high and steep; and where the access seemed easier, he had ordered a rampart to be thrown up—a precaution which showed to the Greeks, that he already anticipated defeat. Having ridden along the ranks, exhorting his troops, Alexander sprung into the river, and attacked the Persian line with so much impetuosity, that he put it to the rout. The efforts of the Persian centre—where the Greek mercenaries were opposed to the Macedonian phalanx, which had become disjointed by the impetuosity of Alexander—and of the left wing, where the Persian cavalry was opposed to the Greek, were now totally unavailing. The Macedonians obtained possession of the royal tent; the mother, wife, and daughter of Darius fell into their hands. The treasures and other valuables had been sent, previous to the engagement, to Damascus; but these were intercepted on the road by a body of Thessalian horse. The number of the slain was computed at a hundred and ten thousand, among whom were many satraps and nobles. The Persian camp exhibited abundant proofs of Asiatic luxury. In the tent of Darius, Alexander found a casket of exquisite workmanship, and adorned with jewels, and used for perfumery. He put into it something more precious—the *Iliad* of Homer, corrected by Aristotle (p. 353).

This victory gave a death-blow to the power and dignity of Persia. Darius, who fled, when his left wing was repulsed by Alexander, pursued his march eastward, and crossed the Euphrates at Thapsacus, “anxious to interpose,” says Arrian, “that deep and rapid stream betwixt himself

and the conqueror." He was solicitous for the restoration of his family, and wrote to Alexander, complaining about the invasion, and making offers of friendship. Alexander wrote in reply that, *as* the leader of the Greeks, he came to revenge the wrongs which they had suffered of old from the Persians; and, *as* the son of Philip, to revenge the insults of King Artaxerxes, who had supported the enemies of his father. Not long afterwards, Darius wrote again to Alexander, offering him Asia as far as the Euphrates, as a ransom for his family and a condition of peace. Alexander still rejected the proposal; and the family of Darius were detained prisoners in Macedonia, but treated with every mark of respect and the most scrupulous delicacy. The Greek mercenaries who fell into his hands were also treated with great lenity.

CHAPTER XXXII.

ALEXANDER.

Reduction of Tyre—Conquest of Egypt—Pilgrimage to the Temple of Jupiter Ammon—Foundation of Alexandria—Battle of Arbela—Capture of Susa, Persepolis—Progress of Luxury.

ALL the contemporaries of Alexander are agreed that no general could divine, with better sagacity, the true strategic point on which to move. Had he marched into Upper Asia after the battle of Issus, with untimely celerity, and left the enemy in command of the sea, the war might have been removed to Europe, where the Lacedæmonians were open enemies, and the Athenians doubtful friends. Instead, therefore, of following Darius, and preventing him from raising another army, he considered it necessary, in the first instance, to secure the whole line of coast, and particularly

the island of Cyprus. As he moved along the coasts of Phœnicia, the minor states submitted, being more solicitous about the preservation of their wealth and commerce than the independence of Persia. Aradus, Marathus, and Cyprus, opened their gates to him; but the inhabitants of Tyre—the “eldest daughter of Sidon,” and “queen of the sea”—who were strong by reason of their fleet and their insular position, did not yield without a most desperate struggle.

Tyre was separated from the continent by a strait half a mile broad; its walls exceeded a hundred feet in height, and extended eighteen miles in circumference; and it was furnished with capacious harbours. The inhabitants of the old city (*Palæ-Tyrus*) on the continent, removed to the city on the island;¹ the women and children were sent over to Carthage. Alexander constructed, with infinite care, a mound to connect the island with the main-land, in order that he might work his battering engines with effect; but, for the space of seven months, all his efforts were baffled by the skill and perseverance of the Tyrians. The Macedonians were galled by darts and missiles from the battlements and galleys; and the wooden towers on which they had erected their engines, were ignited, along with the mole, by a huge hulk filled with combustibles, and towed towards the mole by two galleys. The mole, however, was again erected by incredible exertions on the part of Alexander; and his army was seasonably reinforced by the arrival of four thousand Peloponnesians. At the same time, all the Phœnician princes, whose cities were in the power of the Macedonians, and also those of Cyprus, abandoned the Persian fleet and came over to Alexander, whose naval armament now amounted to two hundred and twenty-four vessels.

The Tyrians, however, continued to assail the hulks and

¹ Old Tyre was besieged by Salmaneser, 719 B. C.; and by Nebuchadnezzar 572 B. C. The latter siege lasted thirteen years; and when the city was taken, most of the inhabitants had escaped, and founded the city on the island mentioned in the text.

galleys by which the battering engines were propelled towards the walls, with showers of ignited arrows. They prevented access to the walls by casting huge stones into the sea; and, by cutting the cables of the Macedonian vessels despatched to clear these encumbrances, they set them adrift. In order to counteract this manœuvre, chains were used instead of ropes, by which the hulks were secured in firm anchorage. In this extremity, the Tyrians embraced an opportunity of attacking the Cyprian squadron: the attack was successful. But Alexander, with great presence of mind, gave orders to block up the haven, in order to prevent the remainder of the Tyrian fleet from joining their victorious companions. The fate of Tyre was now decided. As the passions of the soldiers had become excited by the duration and difficulty of the siege, the treatment of the Tyrians was proportionably severe. Eight thousand perished in the sacking of the city, and thirty thousand were sold as slaves. The conquest of Tyre was the triumph of the military art and of unflinching perseverance; but the bitter fate of the conquered has left a blot on the history of Alexander (332 B. C.).

Alexander now continued his march to Egypt. The siege of Gaza, which, from its situation, was declared to be impregnable, detained him two months—being gallantly defended by Arabian mercenaries. Out of the booty, Alexander sent to his old preceptor, Leonidas, five hundred talents of frankincense, and one hundred talents of myrrh, in order “that he might no longer be so economical towards the gods,” as he expressed it in the accompanying letter. The victory at Issus, the recent subjugation of Syria and Phœnicia, opened a ready passage for him to Memphis, and Egypt became an easy conquest. The Persian satrap did not offer the least resistance. Alexander was well aware of the intense hatred that the Egyptians entertained towards the Persians; and he was not slow in turning it to account. The Persians had ever exhibited a most thorough

contempt for the religion of the Egyptians ; but Alexander hastened to Memphis, the capital—offered sacrifices to the Egyptian Apis, and celebrated gymnastic and musical games with the greatest magnificence. The administration of the state he committed to natives, and the command of the troops he invested in many generals ; as the wealth, the fertility, and the naturally strong situation of the country might easily induce a daring spirit to embark in rebellion, and attempt to found an independent kingdom.

From Egypt, Alexander traversed the southern coast of the Mediterranean, and crossing an ocean of sand, unmarked by trees, mountains, or any other object to direct his course, he undertook a most laborious pilgrimage to the temple and oracle of Jupiter Ammon, in the Libyan desert. Among the African and Asiatic nations, the oracle of Ammon enjoyed a similar authority to that which the oracle of Delphi had long held in Greece. It has been asserted that the principal object of his visit was to be saluted "Son of Jupiter;"¹ but Arrian, one of the most accurate contemporary writers, gives us no authority for such an inference. Granting, however, this to have been the fact, we must not assume that it originated from the intoxication of personal vanity or success. Alexander might indulge in such a freak out of policy,² to exalt himself in the eyes of the Asiatics. His courtiers might flatter him, or attempt to flatter him with his divinity—though he himself rebuked the grossness of their flattery by remarking, when wounded,

¹ The priest or prophet, when intending to address Alexander by the affectionate title of *παῖδιον*, *child, son*, said *παῖ Διός*, *son of Jupiter*. On this blunder the courtiers of Alexander founded his pretensions to divinity.

² Rotteck considers it as a stroke of policy, and views it in connection with the various omens preceding the expedition—with the cutting of the Gordian knot and the vision of Jaddua, the Jewish high priest, who had promised Alexander the conquest of Asia (ii. 132). At Tyre, we find Alexander endeavouring to influence the minds of his soldiers by propagating an account respecting the figure of Hercules (the tutelar deity of Tyre) appearing to him in a dream, &c.

"that it was not blood, but *ichor* which flowed from the wounds of the immortal gods."

But whatever might be the object of his visit to the temple of Jupiter Ammon—the views of Alexander were clear enough in the founding of a city in Egypt, which he called after his own name, Alexandria. The site for its erection was chosen with wonderful sagacity, for Egypt was formed to unite the commerce of Europe, Africa, and the Indies. The city was built in the heart of a desert, about twelve leagues distant from the Nile, to which it was joined by a navigable canal. Alexandria not only became the principal mart of commerce between the East and the West, and endured above a thousand years as the principal bond of union among the civilized nations of the earth; but it formed also the central point of that extraordinary combination of the Greek and Asiatic intellect, which exhibited itself in after-times—the *Alexandrine school*. Tyre suffered more severely from the founding of this city than its own subjugation; for the commerce, by which it had been enriched, passed over, within twenty years, to its rival, Alexandria (332 B. C.).

The wisdom of Alexander in not pursuing Darius immediately after the battle of Issus, was now apparent. By the conquest of Egypt and Phœnicia, he was in possession of a large naval force; and he had also received fresh reinforcements from Greece and Thrace. It would appear as if he had left his enemy so long a time for preparation, in order that he might collect all the remaining forces of his empire, and be annihilated at one blow. Alexander now marched in quest of Darius, who had crossed the Euphrates. Hearing that Darius had taken up his position on the other side of the Tigris, he made a diversion northwards, through Mesopotamia, towards that river. Darius, who merely acted upon the defensive, and probably expected an immediate attack upon Babylon or Susa, was now obliged to follow the movements of Alexander. Between Gangamela and

•

Arbela¹ in Assyria, they came into such close contact that a contest was unavoidable, and both parties, accordingly, prepared for battle. Though Alexander had extended his dominion over Anatolia, Carmania, Syria, and Egypt, yet Darius still obtained reinforcements from Schirvan, Gilan, Corosan, and the wide extent of territory between the Caspian and the Jaxartes.

The Persian army, which was furnished with two hundred scythe-chariots and fifty elephants, was extremely numerous, though composed, as usual, of discordant materials. A considerable number of Greek mercenaries was still in the service of Darius; and these, as at Issus, were opposed to the formidable phalanx. The whole of the Persian army was formed into squares or masses of prodigious depth, evidently with the intention of resisting the compact formation of the phalanx, of which they had already had woeful experience. The right wing consisted of the Medes, Parthians, Hyrcanians, and Sacæ; the left was chiefly occupied by Bactrians, Persians, and Carduchians. The king occupied the centre of the first line, defended by 15,000 guards, while chosen squadrons of Scythian, Bactrian, and Cappadocian cavalry advanced in front of either wing. Parmenio had advised Alexander to attack the Persians during the night; but Alexander rejected the proposal, declaring that, "he scorned to steal a victory." On the morning of the battle, Alexander slept so soundly, that Parmenio observed to him that, "he slept as if he had already obtained the victory." "And have we not obtained a victory," replied the hero, "when we have the enemy at last before us, and are no longer obliged to seek him through the desert."

The Persians, who were in expectation of an attack, remained all night under arms; and were thus, to a certain extent, incapacitated for the action of the following day.

¹ The battle is generally called the "battle of Arbela," though fought at the distance of sixty miles from that town. The village of Gangamela is in the immediate neighbourhood.

Alexander disposed the main-body of his army into two heavy phalanxes of 16,000 men each—the greater part being formed into one line, behind which he placed the heavy-armed men, reinforced by targeteers. His cavalry and light infantry he disposed in such a manner, that while one part sustained the shock of the Persians in front, the other, by simply facing to the right or left, might attack them in flank. Alexander, in order to avoid contending at once with superior numbers, led the whole of his army in an oblique direction. Darius commanded the Scythian squadrons to advance, in order to prevent the extension of the hostile line; and Alexander detached a body of horse to oppose them. The armed chariots next rushed forwards; but as Alexander had stationed at proper intervals skilful archers and darters, who might wound the conductors or horses—their assault was comparatively harmless. Darius next moved his main body, but with so little skill, that the horse and foot became mixed, and a vacuity was left in the line, which Alexander immediately filled with a wedge of squadrons. In this part victory was not long doubtful.

On the other hand, the Persian cavalry behaved with their usual gallantry; and the left wing of the Macedonians, commanded by Parmenio, was sorely pressed. The skill and success, however, with which Alexander directed his attack on the right wing, and the rapidity with which he came to the assistance of Parmenio, decided the victory in favour of the Macedonians. Darius took to flight, and the confusion of so numerous an army only served to render its defeat the greater; and its wealth to add to the booty of the conquerors. According to the least extravagant accounts, Alexander, with the loss of five hundred men, destroyed forty thousand of the barbarians; the invaluable provinces of Babylonia, Susiana, and Persis, with their respective capitals of Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis, formed the prize of his skill and valour (331 B.C.).

In Babylon, Alexander offered sacrifices to the gods of

the Chaldeans, and promised the priests that he would rebuild the temple of Belus, which had been demolished by Xerxes. Susa, with the royal treasures, fell also into his hands; and here Alexander met with much that Xerxes had brought from Greece in the Persian invasion—amongst other things, the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton. These he sent to Athens, representing, at the same time, his great victory as a just retribution for the invasion of Greece. He also enabled the Platæans to rebuild their city, because they had fought against the Persians in defence of Grecian freedom. The gold and silver found in the cities of Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis, amounted to thirty millions sterling; the jewels and other precious spoil belonging to Darius, sufficed, according to Plutarch, to load 20,000 mules and 5,000 camels.

The Spartans, however, were still uneasy under the Macedonian yoke. The Athenians refused to join them in any attempt at throwing it off; but most of the Peloponnesians sent troops, so that king Agis found himself at the head of twenty-two thousand men. Antipater, however, marched into the Peloponnesus, and defeated the confederates. When Alexander received the news of this victory, he observed in jest, "Whilst we are here conquering Darius, a war of mice appears to have taken place in Arcadia."

Having been reinforced by 14,000 fresh troops from Greece, Alexander marched from Susa to Persepolis (*Chehl-Mendér*)—forcing his passage through the narrow defiles that constitute the entrance to Persia Proper. Persepolis was the sacred city of the Persians—the graves of their kings being situated in its neighbourhood. Here Alexander met with an immense booty; and here, at the suggestion of an Athenian courtesan, Thais, he burnt the palace, in order to revenge the injuries which Greece had suffered at the hands of the Persians. Alexander applied the first torch himself, as if to insult the world with the announcement that the empire of Cyrus was no more. What has he

effected by it? The ruins of Persepolis still proclaim the shame of the conqueror, and twenty cities, built out of policy, will not efface it.¹

A very considerable portion of this booty was distributed by Alexander among his attendants, with such liberality, that his mother, Olympias, frequently wrote to him "that he not merely remunerated his friends, but made them kings." He presented the aged Parmenio with the house of a wealthy Persian at Susa, the furniture alone of which was valued at a thousand talents. His liberality extended also to the officers and common soldiers. A Pæonian brought to him the head of a slain enemy, and said, "In our country we receive a golden cup for this." "Only an empty cup," replied Alexander, "I will give a full one, and pledge thee with it."

The conquest of a country, in which luxury had been carried to the highest pitch, must necessarily exert a considerable influence upon the Macedonian army. Splendour in apparel and magnificence in banqueting now became universally prevalent; many anointed themselves with the most costly unguents, and were attended daily to the baths by numerous slaves. Alexander himself gave way, a little out of policy, to this luxurious indulgence. He surrounded himself with a splendid court; he approximated as nearly as possible to the dress and customs of the conquered people, and at the same time he endeavoured to habituate them to European civilization and manners. Thus he instructed

¹ *Rotteck* ii. 133, 134. The remains of Persepolis indicate a nation not in the habit of occupying the bosoms of their hills, but accustomed to wander free and unconstrained. Those terrace-foundations which appear like a continuation of the mountain, those groves of columns, those basins, once, no doubt, sparkling with refreshing fountains, those flights of steps, which the loaded camel of the Arab ascends with the same ease as his conductor, forming a sort of highway for the nations whose images are sculptured there; all these particulars are as much in unison with the character of that joyous land, which the industry of the Persians converted into an earthly paradise, as the gigantic temples of Egypt are appropriate memorials of their old grottos in the rocks.—*Heeren*.

thirty thousand young Persians in a knowledge of the Greek language, and accustomed them to the use and practice of the Macedonian arms. But still there lay an insuperable difficulty in the way of Alexander for bringing about the amalgamation he desired. The republican spirit of Greece stood in direct opposition to the forms of Persian despotism; and the Macedonian polity, in which law and custom did not require such abject subjection as that of Asia, was far more conformable to the feelings of the Greeks.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

ALEXANDER.

Murder of Darius—Contests with the Scythians—Murder of Parmenio, Clitus, &c.—Invasion of India—Defeat of Porus.

DARIUS was still living in Ecbatana, the capital of Media, determined, according to report, by the aid of new reinforcements, to venture a fresh battle for his throne and his life. Alexander had hitherto been prevented from pursuing him, by the settlement of his important conquests, and the reduction of the Uxii, who inhabited the western frontier of Persia. When he arrived in the neighbourhood of Ecbatana, he learnt that Darius had fled with the Median treasures into the more northern provinces, accompanied by three thousand cavalry and six thousand infantry. He determined to follow him. Previous to this, he dismissed the Thessalian cavalry and other Greek allies, paying them, in addition to their arrears, a gratuity of two thousand talents. He only retained with him those who volunteered for the service—he left all the booty of Persepolis and Susa in Ecbatana, under the charge of Harpalus—he despatched Parmenio and Clitus to different points to secure his march,

and he himself set out at the head of the phalanx and other troops, with extraordinary rapidity, in order to fall in with Darius. When he had passed the Caspian defiles, he learnt that a rebellion had broken out among the followers of Darius, that the Persians and Greek mercenaries alone remained true to him, and that Bessus, the satrap of Bactria, had taken him prisoner, in conjunction with Nabarzanes, an officer in Darius's cavalry.

Alexander, having left behind him his heavy-armed troops and the baggage, under command of Craterus, now went in pursuit of the traitors. Bessus and his comrades, when they found their pursuers gaining ground, mounted upon fleet coursers; yet not before they had inflicted many stabs upon the unfortunate Darius. The horsemen of Alexander found him weltering in his blood, and begging for water to cool his parched tongue. A Macedonian brought him some, and Darius refreshed himself for the last time. "Friend," said he, "it is the bitterest portion of my suffering that I cannot recompense thee for thy kindness. But Alexander will recompense thee, and the gods will recompense Alexander for the generosity he has exhibited towards my mother, my wife, and my children. Through thee I here offer him my right hand." The Macedonian grasped his fingers, which were already stiff; and at that moment Darius expired. Alexander, when he came up, was much affected at the sight. He threw his mantle over the corpse, and ordered that it should be transported to Persia and deposited in the royal Mausoleum (330 B. C.).

Alexander, before he continued his pursuit of the rebels and murderers, directed his march towards Hyrcania, against the Greek mercenaries, who, finding themselves unable to prevent the disgraceful scenes that were enacting, had retreated to the mountains. From Hyrcania he passed over into Parthia, and the land of the Arii, where he learnt that Bessus had assumed the ensigns of royalty, and that Sati-bazanes, the satrap of the Arii, had collected an army.

Alexander marched against the latter, put him to flight, and continued his route, under extreme difficulties, almost to the borders of India. Turning again northwards, he passed over the Indian Caucasus, or Paropamisus, where he founded a city called Alexandria. He then went to Bactria, in pursuit of Bessus, who, upon his approach, fled over the Oxus (*Jihon*) into Sogdiana, and burnt the vessel which had conveyed him across. Alexander, however, found means of crossing this deep and rapid stream. Bessus was delivered into his hands; Alexander ordered the traitor to be scourged and executed. The Greek mercenaries were pardoned and admitted into the Macedonian service.

Alexander traversed these regions, fighting with the barbarians, until he reached the Jaxartes (or *Sirr*). Through want of accurate geographical knowledge, he conceived himself to be near the boundaries that separated Europe from Asia—and, accordingly, he found, what he sought, the natural limit of his undertakings in that direction. Here he came into conflict with the Scythians, who dwelt on the other side of the Jaxartes; and, though his military genius ultimately gave him the superiority, he suffered severely. The abruptness of their attack was only equalled by the celerity of their retreat. In one action we are told that only forty Macedonian horsemen and three hundred foot escaped; and we read of another, after which it was made death to divulge the number of the slain. The indomitable spirit of Alexander kept pace with his bodily energy. Though fighting every day, he was ever in the thick of battle—though his marches were incredible for their rapidity, he was ever in the van. Yet his attention was eagerly directed to the consolidation of his victories; and he was ever active in suppressing latent rebellion, deposing faithless satraps, and in endeavouring to gain the affections of the people whom he conquered. With this intention he married the beautiful Roxana, the daughter of Oxyartes, a distinguished Bactrian; for though the rights of war necessarily gave him

the command of her person, he chose rather to offend the prejudices of the Macedonians by marrying her, than to transgress the laws of humanity. The conquered nations everywhere enjoyed their ancient laws and privileges; and the Macedonian governors were compelled to observe the rules of justice towards their meanest subjects (329-328 B.C.).

The Macedonians became dissatisfied with the partiality he exhibited for the Asiatic mode of life; and some instances of apparent cruelty and ingratitude, contributed to increase the dissatisfaction. We allude to the fate of Philotas, a son of Parmenio, who was accused of entering into a conspiracy against Alexander. He then proceeded to put Parmenio to death—thinking it advisable, perhaps, to deliver himself from any fear of his vengeance. It is difficult to determine in these cases how far Alexander was justified in what he did—how far he yielded to necessity, or to an anxiety somewhat unreasonable. Certain it is, that historians have recorded no instance of his expressing any repentance for the deed, as he did in the case of his friend Clitus, whom he murdered in his bacchanalian orgies. During a festive banquet, the flatterers of Alexander were depreciating the expeditions of Hercules and Bacchus, in comparison with those of the king. Clitus, who could not bear to hear the gods insulted, exclaimed that the Macedonians had the greatest share in the achievements—that Philip was far superior to his son; and that he himself had saved the king's life at the Granicus. In a moment of ungovernable passion, Alexander stabbed him.¹ His

¹ Callisthenes met with a similar fate. He had distinguished himself for his opposition to the adulation of the courtiers; and a conspiracy, or the pretext of a conspiracy against the king, was brought forward as an occasion for the removal of an obnoxious individual. Aristotle is said expressly to have cautioned Callisthenes in the words of Thetis to Achilles (*Il.* xviii. 95).

Ὁκύμορος δὲ μοι, τίκος, ἔσσαι, οἱ ἀγορεύεις,

"Brief life, my son, is destined for such words;"

and generally to have admonished him to converse, either very seldom, or else most complaisantly, with the king (*Val. Max.* vii. 2. *Diog. Laert. in Aristot.*) Alexander must, at least, have been *Impiger, iracundus*, &c. (*Hor.*).

repentance, though too late, was bitter. For the space of three days, he neither ate nor drank, but continued weeping and invoking the name of Clitus, until the consolations of his friends, and the urgencies of business, diverted him from the object of his grief.

In the spring of the year 327 B. C., Alexander, as he had found the limits of his empire to the north, determined to seek its limits to the east in the sea, or the Ganges. The subjugation of India would therefore complete the conquest of Asia. He traversed, in ten days' march, the Paropamisus, a link of that immense chain of mountains reaching from the coast of Cilicia to the sea of China, and distinguished in different portions of its length by the names of Taurus, Paropamisus, Imaus, and Emodus. During the whole of his route, he was compelled to fight his way through the barbarous tribes, which lay in every direction; for the northern regions of India were inhabited then, as now, by men of superior strength and courage. When he approached the city of Nyssa, which had been founded by a Grecian colony established by Bacchus, ambassadors came to him in the camp. They found him in complete armour, and covered thick with dust; no ensigns of royalty distinguished him from his attendants. They testified great horror at the sight, and threw themselves prostrate on the ground. A cushion was brought, and Alexander, who continued standing, compelled the oldest of the ambassadors to seat himself upon it. Alexander was pleased with the demeanour of the old man; and, being asked respecting the conditions of peace, answered, "They shall accept thee for their ruler, and send me one hundred of their best men as hostages." "But I should rule better," replied the old man, laughing, "if I send thee not one hundred of the best, but two hundred of the worst." The answer pleased Alexander, and he was satisfied with exacting few hostages.

Near Taxila (the modern *Attock*), Alexander crossed the Indus; for this appears, in all ages, to have been the pass leading from the countries of Cabul and Candahar, into

India. He availed himself of the enmities that existed between the chiefs of different tribes, and connected himself with a powerful prince, or rajah, named Taxiles, who reinforced him with seven thousand Indian horse. On the other hand, Porus, a powerful king, disputed his passage over the river Hydaspes, at the head of thirty thousand foot, four thousand horse, three hundred armed chariots, and two hundred elephants, whose noise, smell, and aspect, are alike terrible to cavalry. But those who are acquainted with the art of war, well know that a river cannot be defended for any length of time. For several nights, Alexander having posted his cavalry in detachments along the river, ordered them to raise loud shouts, as if determined to effect their passage at all hazards. Wherever the danger threatened, Porus conducted his elephants; but, finding that no attempt was made to force the passage, he concluded that nothing was intended.

Alexander, observing this security, left a division to amuse the enemy with fires by night, and to prepare openly during the day for effecting the passage; whilst he himself marched with a select body to the principal winding of the Hydaspes, about eighteen miles from his camp. Here he crossed the river; and Porus, having received intelligence from the outposts, prepared to meet him. When Alexander observed the formidable arrangements of Porus, he determined not to attack him in front. He imperceptibly moved with the flower of his cavalry towards the left wing of his enemy; the remainder, conducted by Cœnus, stretched towards the right, accompanied by a thousand equestrian archers—the Macedonian foot remaining, at the same time, firm in their posts. The Indian horse were thus obliged to form into two divisions—one to resist Alexander, and the other facing about to meet Cœnus. The Indians were repulsed, and took refuge in the intervals that had been left between the elephants, as behind a line of friendly towers. The attack of the elephants was comparatively harmless—the Mace-

donians opened their ranks, as they stood on open ground; and, on that account, they proved more formidable to friends and foes when their rage was excited, by being pent up within a narrow space. At last the flight became general.

Porus himself, being retarded by wounds, was taken prisoner; and his noble bearing attracted the notice of Alexander. Alexander inquired in what he could oblige him? Porus answered, "By acting as a king."—"I should treat you as a king," repeated Alexander, "for my own sake. Have you any further request to make?"—"No," rejoined Porus, "that comprises every thing." This observation exalted Porus in the estimation of Alexander; and he not only restored to him his kingdom, but enlarged its boundaries. Alexander now founded two cities; the one called Nicæa, from the victory he had obtained, and the other Bucephala, in honour of his horse Bucephalus, which died here in his thirtieth year.

Thirty-seven cities now submitted to Alexander in this blooming and populous country. Continuing his march, he crossed the Acesines and Hydraotes. He had still to maintain conflicts with the independent Indian tribes, and he was detained for a considerable time by the siege of a strong city, called Sangala. The capture and destruction of this city increased the terror of his name, and prepared the way for the subjugation of those tribes which dwelt beyond the Hyphasis, and whose bravery and civilization have been no less extolled, than the fertility and the cultivation of the country which they inhabited. Alexander had thus rendered himself master of the valuable country, now called the *Punjab*, watered by the five great streams, whose confluence forms the Indus (327 B. C.).

CHAPTER XXXIV.

ALEXANDER.

Dissatisfaction of the Macedonians—Adventure of Alexander—Voyage down the Indus—March through the desert of Gedrosia.

IN the prosecution of this extraordinary expedition, Alexander was stimulated no less by his appetite for conquest, than his desire to explore new countries. Unfortunately the army did not participate in this enthusiasm. As they had to fight their way through every species of difficulty and danger, and, more particularly, as they could discern no limits to the ambition of Alexander, they no longer concealed their dissatisfaction, but openly expressed their determination to accompany him no further.

Nothing could well be more painful to Alexander, than this resolution on the part of the army. He assembled the leaders, and laboured to convince them of their error. He represented to them that the Indus and the Ganges could not be much further distant—that the Hyrcanian sea (Caspian) was certainly connected with the Indian, and this again with the Persian Gulf; and that if he should reach these limits, his conquests would be fully secured. He implored them not to hesitate to add this little to the much they had already performed, and he promised them the most splendid recompense. A long silence followed—no one wished to oppose the inclination of the king. At last Cœnus, an old soldier, came forward, and begged Alexander to remember how few of the Greeks and Macedonians, who had set out with him, were still remaining. "The Thessalians had been sent home, previous to the expedition to Bactria; many Greeks, in opposition to their will, had been left to colonize newly founded cities; others had been left behind, because their wounds had incapacitated them for further service; a great number had perished in

battle; and there were few left who did not exhibit the effects of incessant fatigue and hardship. They were, therefore, naturally desirous to return home, and enjoy there the glory that they had already acquired."

Alexander now broke up the assembly. On the following day he summoned them a second time, and spoke with greater vehemence. "For his own part he would continue his march—he should still find men who would follow their king. Others might go, and say to their countrymen, that they had abandoned their king in the midst of his enemies." Thereupon he retired to his tent, and for three days admitted no one to his presence, hoping that this might work some change in the resolution of the army. This, however, had no effect; a gloom, indeed, pervaded the camp, but there appeared no symptoms of any change of sentiment. On the fourth day, Alexander, according to custom, offered sacrifices for the passage of the Hyphasis; but the omens were unfavourable, and Alexander now expressed his willingness to yield to the wishes of the army and the intimations of the gods. In an instant the soldiers forgot their troubles, and a general shout of joy pervaded the camp. The whole of the Macedonian conquests in India, including seven nations, and above two thousand cities, were subjected to the dominion of Porus.

Every thing was now prepared for the return—games were celebrated; twelve altars were erected, midway between Delhi and Lahor, to indicate the extent of his victories; and Alexander prayed to the gods, that no mortal might be permitted to penetrate farther. Having reached the Hydaspes, he built a number of ships, in order to sail down that river till its junction with the Indus, and thence along that magnificent stream to the Indian ocean. Nearchus was commander in chief of the expedition, and the other troops marched southward along the banks of the river, under the command of Craterus and Hephæstion. This was the first European fleet which navigated the

Indian sea, explored the Persian Gulf, and examined the mouths of the Tigris and Euphrates. On the fifth day they arrived at the conflux of the Hydaspes and Acesines.

Further on, they met with a warlike people, the Malti, who made a gallant resistance in their principal city. When the Macedonians had entered the city, and the scaling ladders were applied to the citadel, Alexander, indignant at the delay, was the first to mount the walls. Alarmed by the danger of their general, the Macedonians followed in such numbers, that the ladder unfortunately broke when Alexander reached the summit. Others could not come immediately to his assistance; and there he stood exposed to the missiles of the enemy, and conspicuous by the extravagance of his valour, as well as the brightness of his arms. He now leaped down into the citadel, with only two comrades about him, and laid prostrate every one who approached him, until he himself fell wounded in the breast. His two comrades protected him with their shields, until the rest had burst through the gates, and come to his assistance. The weapon was immediately extracted from his breast; and a seasonable swooning stopped the discharge of blood that threatened his dissolution. For several weeks his sickness would not permit him to appear to the army. Many believed that he was dead, and that they were attempting to conceal it. When he did appear, a general shout of joy pervaded the army, and all rushed forward to touch his hands, his knees, or his garments, and to scatter flowers before him (326 B. C.).

When Alexander had proceeded further down the Indus, Musicanus, an Indian prince, revolted in his rear. The insurrection was speedily suppressed, and Musicanus, along with the priests (Brahmins) who had participated in the insurrection, was punished by crucifixion. Plutarch tells us, that Alexander conversed with many of these *gymnosophists*, as the Greeks termed them, and proposed difficult questions to them; and that he spared their lives, on

account of their rapid and intelligent answers. Their contempt for the pomp and pleasures of the present life, was founded on the firm belief of a better and more permanent state of existence. They laughed at the foolish ambition of Alexander, and when reprimanded by his courtiers for insulting the son of Jupiter, they replied, that "All were the sons of Jupiter; that the rewards of Alexander they disdained, and set at defiance his punishments, which at last could only relieve them from the load of frail mortality."

Alexander did not wish merely to traverse the country, but also to retain a permanent hold upon it; and with this view he built fortified places, established a harbour where the Indus separates itself into two branches, and appointed satraps over the various provinces. He now cherished the idea of being able to connect this remote portion of his empire with the rest; for the farther he proceeded, the more manifest did it become, that the great stream of the Indus flowed into the ocean, and that it might be connected by navigation with the mouths of the Tigris and Euphrates. In order to convince himself on this point, and to examine by which arm of the Indus the fleet might most conveniently reach the sea, he set sail himself, and arrived in the open sea—after having encountered many dangers, originating principally from the strong tides to which the Greeks were by no means accustomed. Nearchus now undertook the difficult commission of Alexander, namely, to conduct the fleet along the coast into the Persian Gulf, as far as the mouths of the Tigris and Euphrates.

In the mean time, Alexander determined to conduct the land army to Persepolis, through the province of Gedrosia, in whose deserts the armies of Cyrus and Semiramis are said to have perished. He chose this route prompted by the necessity of being in communication with the fleet, in order to supply it with water. It would be difficult, however, to describe the hardships which the army encountered, for the whole southern portion of the province of Gedrosia

is nothing but a sandy desert. A sea of burning sand, in which the traveller sunk at every step—the waggons sticking fast, with all the baggage and provisions, and even the sick who were resting upon them; the beasts of burden falling, and many of them being secretly slaughtered in order to satisfy the cravings of appetite; numbers perishing of thirst, whilst many who lay down to sleep were afterwards unable to discover the route of the army—form but an outline of the miseries of this unfortunate expedition. Alexander, however, was a model of endurance, sharing the hunger, thirst, and fatigue of the meanest soldier. On one occasion the full heat of the day had broken out, and yet no water had been met with. Alexander was affected with violent thirst; yet he marched on foot at the head of the army, in order that the rest might bear it the more patiently. At last some light-armed troops met with a little muddy water, and brought it to the king in a helmet. He thanked them for the gift, and then, in the presence of all, he poured the water on the ground. "The whole army," says Arrian, "observing the generosity of the king, were as much refreshed as if they had drank the contents of the helmet." After a march of sixty days, the army arrived at a considerable town of Gedrosia, where they met with a superfluity of every thing. According to Plutarch, three-fourths of the army perished from hunger and sickness; but this is undoubtedly an exaggeration (325 B. C.).

Alexander now proceeded to Carmania, where he was joined by Craterus with a portion of the land-army, and by Nearchus, who gave him an account of his difficult voyage. The waste of men occasioned by this destructive expedition through Gedrosia, was repaired by the arrival of numerous reinforcements from Media. Nearchus was now commanded to prosecute his voyage, and Hephæstion to lead the greatest part of the army along the shore to Persis, whilst he himself set out thither with the light-armed troops by the shortest road. On his arrival in the interior of the kingdom, he

ordered many of the governors to be executed who had been guilty of treason or injustice during his absence—expecting that he would find his grave in India. “This, especially,” says Arrian,¹ “kept in awe the nations that were either subdued by Alexander, or that voluntarily submitted to him (numerous and remote as they were); that, under the reign of this prince, the governors durst not injure the governed.” The grave of Cyrus had been violated and plundered; but Alexander restored the inscription on his monument. Here Calanus, the gymnosophist, who had accompanied Alexander, fell sick, and expressed his determination to die on the funeral pile, after the manner of his country. His wishes were complied with, and he endured the flames with all the indifference by which the Indians are characterized when pain is to be endured. He expired, singing a hymn to the gods of his country (325 B. C.).

CHAPTER XXXV.

ALEXANDER.

Dissatisfaction of the Army—Speech of Alexander—Return of the Veterans—Death of Hephæstion—Death of Alexander.

ANIMATED by a zeal for public happiness, Alexander thus traversed the populous provinces of the East, and successively visited the imperial cities of Persepolis, Susa, Ecbatana, and Babylon. He endeavoured by every means in his power to unite the Persians and the Macedonians. With this view, he married Barcinè (or Statira), the eldest daughter of Darius, and gave the younger to Hephæstion, at the same time conferring rewards upon those Macedonians who espoused Persian ladies. Perdikkas, Seleucus, Ptolemy, and

¹ Lib. vi. p. 143.

other generals intermarried with the most illustrious of the barbarians. He now collected the thirty thousand youths who had been selected from the various provinces, and instructed in the Grecian exercise and discipline, in order to shew that there would be no longer any distinction between the conquered and the conquerors. The most distinguished cavaliers of Bactria, Sogdiana, Aria, Persis, and Parthia, were incorporated with those of Macedonia, and many Persians of note were attached to the imperial staff.

In each company, or rather in each division of sixteen of his barbarian armies, Alexander joined four Europeans to twelve Asiatics; and in the Macedonian forces he intermixed such of the barbarians as were most distinguished by their strength, their activity, and their merit. From a catalogue of their names presented to the king, it appeared that above ten thousand Greeks and Macedonians married Asiatic women, thus "uniting Asia to Europe," as Plutarch observes, "by lawful love, chaste nuptials, and the indissoluble tie of common progeny."—"Homer," says the same writer, "was read in the East; the children of the Persians, Susians, and Gedrosians, recited the tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides." Musical and gymnastic games were every where introduced.

The Macedonians, however, did not relish these changes, naturally conceiving that they themselves were slighted by the elevation of the Persians. Hitherto it had been deemed a national principle that nature had destined the Greek to govern and the barbarian to serve. Alexander observed the rising dissatisfaction, and endeavoured to counteract it, by a course of unbounded liberality. He not only presented those, who had distinguished themselves, with golden crowns and other valuable presents, but also paid the debts which every soldier had contracted. When Alexander issued orders that each soldier should furnish an exact account of what he owed—many suspecting an intention merely to discover their characters, either denied or diminished their

¹ *Plut. Or. 1. De Fortun. Alex.*

debts. But Alexander issued a second proclamation—"That it became not a prince to deceive his people, nor a people to suppose their prince capable of deceit." Faithful lists were immediately presented, and the whole debts were discharged.

At Opis, however, the soldiers gave vent to their dissatisfaction. The king had summoned them together, and declared that all who felt themselves incapacitated for service by age or wounds, might now return to Macedonia ; for the arrival of the barbarian auxiliaries had enabled him to make this proposition. The army that had clamoured for their dismissal in India, now felt the offer of it to be a personal insult. A loud murmur arose, and some exclaimed that Alexander stood no longer in need of them—that he, his father Ammon, and the new Persians, were now competent to carry on the war. Alexander, whose indignation was roused by this conduct, ordered thirteen of the ringleaders to be put to death. He then mounted the rostrum, and enumerated the benefits which the Macedonians had derived from the achievements of himself and his father.

"My father found you a race of wandering shepherds, scarcely able to protect yourselves from the inroads of the neighbouring barbarians ; but he not only gave you dominion over those barbarians, but extended your empire over the whole of Greece, and introduced the blessings of commerce and civilization. Yet, great as were the achievements of my father, they are inconsiderable when compared with what has been effected since. We opened a passage over the Hellespont, though the Persians were masters of the sea. We then defeated the satraps of Darius—subjugated the whole of Ionia, Æolia, the two Phrygias, Lydia, and conquered Miletus. The riches of Egypt and Cyrene fell into your hands without striking a blow. Cælo-Syria, Phœnicia, and Mesopotamia, are in your possession. Ye have Babylon, Bactria, and Susa. The riches of the Lydians, the treasures of the Persians, the wealth of India—even the shores of the Ocean now belong to you. Ye are satraps, generals, and

princes; but as for myself, I have nothing remaining but this purple and this diadem. I have reserved nothing for my own selfish gratification; others surpass me in luxurious indulgence. Have any dangers or hardships occurred in which I have not had a full participation? or have I ever hesitated to expose myself to the fury of the enemy? Have I not paid the debts of every man without enquiring how or why they were contracted? Has any man fallen in the expedition who has not been duly honoured in his death, or whose parents have not received ample remuneration? Have not all of you reaped a rich harvest of booty? And what have I done? I have given permission to those to depart home who are incapacitated for further service. But if you all wish to depart, go, and tell your countrymen that you left your king Alexander after he had conquered the Persians, Medes, Bactrians, and Sacians; after he had put you in possession of Parthia, Chorasmia, and Hyrcania; after he had passed over the Paropamisus and crossed the Tanais, Oxus, and the Indus (which no one had ever crossed before except Bacchus)—the Hydaspes, Hydraotes, and the Hyphasis—after he had sailed down the two arms of the Indus into the ocean, and traversed the Gedrosian deserts, which no one ever traversed before with an army; after he had navigated the Indian sea to Persia, and he had brought you back to Susa. Go then, I say, and tell your countrymen, that you then abandoned him, and left him to be protected by the barbarians whom he had conquered; and thus you will acquire praise among men, and exhibit your piety towards the gods. Go!"

Having finished his speech, Alexander immediately descended and hurried to his tent—leaving the Macedonians completely bewildered as to what resolution they should take. For two days, the king would not be seen, and on the third he summoned the chosen Persians—distributed among them the various posts of command, and selected, according to the custom of the Persian court, some who were styled

the "relations of the king," and had the privilege of kissing him. The Macedonians could now contain themselves no longer, but besieged the tent of Alexander in crowds, imploring his compassion, and that he would shew himself to them. The king came forth; and the sight of so many kneeling, and in affliction, affected him to tears. One of the number, named Callines, then stood forward and said to him, "It grieves the Macedonians that thou hast made the Persians thy relations, and permitted thyself to be kissed by them—an honour which no Macedonian ever yet enjoyed."—"Now," interrupted Alexander, "I make you all my relations, and henceforward will style you as such." Hereupon Callines kissed him, and others followed his example. The soldiers rejoiced—the king offered a sacrifice for the reconciliation, and gave a magnificent banquet, in which nine thousand Persians besides the Macedonians participated.

Ten thousand Veterans were now sent to Macedonia. The children, which had been borne them by Asiatic women, were left behind, in order to prevent distractions in their families; and Alexander promised to give them a Macedonian education. Each soldier received a talent as a present, and his pay was reckoned up to the time of his arrival in Macedonia; and Alexander gave them the right of precedence at all public games and festivals. This treatment would naturally induce the Macedonian youth to join the army; and fresh troops were, accordingly, sent out under the command of Craterus, who had brought back the Veterans.

On the return of Alexander from India, Harpalus, who had been entrusted with the treasures in Ecbatana (p. 370), had taken to flight. His extravagance had rendered it impossible for him to make up his accounts satisfactorily; and he became alarmed at the fate of the satraps who had abused the confidence of Alexander. With five thousand talents in his possession, and accompanied by six thousand

mercenaries, he hastened to Greece, and sought a refuge in Athens. Harpalus found the Athenians very willing to accept his bribes; but he found them, at the same time, incapable of making any efforts for the recovery of their liberty and independence. Antipater and Olympias demanded him to be given up; and hence he was obliged to leave the city, as well as Demosthenes, who was charged with having accepted a bribe from him. Alexander, in order to render the allegiance of the vacillating Greeks more secure, ordered all the exiles, about 20,000 in number, to return to their respective states; and these everywhere formed a considerable party in his interest. This decree might have occasioned violent distractions, had not its execution been interrupted by the subsequent death of Alexander.

Alexander himself was now somewhat inclined to return to Greece and enjoy a little repose, before he commenced fresh enterprises. Besides having made preparations for the exploring of the Caspian sea, and its supposed communication with the Black or the Indian sea, he was occupied with an undertaking respecting Arabia—a country which was of importance to him, partly for the security and completeness of his conquests, and partly on account of the commerce with Egypt, India, and the Persian Gulf. But the organization of his empire, as well as its extension, occupied his thoughts. The amalgamation of the various nations, by means of mutual marriages and settlements, would pave the way for the introduction of a *uniform system* of laws and manners. The arts, the sciences, and the civilization of the Greeks would flourish on the banks of the Oxus and the Indus, and in the forests of Hyrcania—whilst, on the other hand, the Greeks and Macedonians would learn to obey like the Persians. The seat of empire would be established in Babylon, which was situated in the centre of the then known world, and was admirably adapted, by its position, to keep up a rapid communication, both by land

and sea, with the remotest inhabitants of the empire. The importance of commerce towards realizing this vast union of nations was duly appreciated by Alexander. No one before him, and few that have come after, ever entertained commercial speculations upon so gigantic a scale. It may be truly said, that his plans of conquest knew no other limits than those of the earth; and that the idea of *universal empire*, in the fullest sense of the word, was implanted in his mind.

But whilst his ever-active mind was thus seeking employment for the future, he was deprived, by death, of his friend Hephæstion, who was the best adapted of all to have been his successor, and to have followed out his plans. In the midst of his vast empire, Alexander now felt himself desolate—for three days he refused to eat or drink, and he rejected all attempts at consolation. He burnt his corpse on a funeral pile in Babylon, which he constructed at the expense of 10,000 talents; and he obtained permission from the oracle of Jupiter Ammon to pay divine honours to him as a hero. Funeral games were celebrated in the great cities; a public mourning was observed throughout the empire. Alexander justified his immoderate sorrow by the inconsolable grief of Achilles for the loss of his beloved friend Patroclus.

The multifarious projects, however, which occupied his attention, soon brought him back again to active life—though only for a short period. We are told that, after the conquest of Arabia, it was the intention of Alexander to set sail from the Red sea with a powerful fleet, and circumnavigate Africa (as Phœnician pilots had once done under the auspices of Pharaoh Necho), and reduce all the nations that occupied this quarter of the globe. From thence he would proceed through the Straits of Gibraltar, into the Mediterranean; receive the homage of the Carthaginians and Romans; and then, having completed the conquest of the world, he would return from the west into his paternal kingdom, from which he had started eastward. But at Babylon, from

whence he intended to commence his proposed navigation of the Euphrates, he was seized with a sudden sickness, and a premature death terminated every project (324 B. C.).¹

Some say that Alexander died of poison administered by the emissaries of Antipater; but this rumour deserves very little credit. Others again assert, that intemperance was the cause of his death; yet this can hardly be believed, if we pay any attention to the testimony of Aristobulus, one of his most credible historians, who states that Alexander was not in the habit of drinking much wine, and seldom indulged in it except for the sake of sociability. "Of all men," says Arrian, "Alexander was the most economical in what regarded his private pleasures."² It would be, therefore, most reasonable to ascribe his death to over-exertion—to that restless energy which would not allow him a moment's relaxation; for even on the day of his death he received the communications of his generals, and issued his orders as usual. He died in the thirty-third year of his age, after a reign of twelve years and eight months.—What might not Alexander have accomplished, had he lived to the ordinary term of human life? "He seems," says Arrian, "to have been given to the world by a peculiar dispensation of providence, being a man like to none other of the human kind."

CHAPTER XXXVI.

SUCCESSORS OF ALEXANDER.

Partition of the Empire—Disturbances in Greece—Death of Demosthenes—Quarrel of the Generals.

WHEN Alexander was questioned upon his death-bed on the appointment of a successor to his empire, he answered, that

¹ Rotteck, ii. 137, 138.

² Arrian, lib. vii. p. 167.

he left it to the "most worthy." As there was no one amongst his immediate descendants competent to administer the government, the matter was evidently left to the decision of his ambitious and experienced generals. No one, in fact, among the family of Alexander, was adapted to hold the reins of government in these perilous times. The civil administration of the empire was not yet organized; and the army was the only bond of union. A compromise was, accordingly, hit upon, which appeared to satisfy the wishes of all parties. Philip Aridæus, and Alexander, the son of Roxana, were to be the kings and rulers of the whole empire. Perdicas, who had been presented by Alexander on his death-bed with his ring, and who stood at the head of the cavalry, and Meleager, whose importance rested on his command of the phalanx, were to be their guardians, and assume the regency. The different provinces of the empire were to be distributed, like satrapies, among the remaining generals. Thus Egypt fell to Ptolemy; Macedonia and Greece to Antipater and Craterus; the provinces of Asia Minor, Phrygia, Lycia, and Pamphylia, to Antigonus; Thrace to Lysimachus; and Phrygia on the Hellespont to Leonatus.

This compromise might appear to protect the rights of the royal family, and gratify the desires of the ambitious generals; but it is evident that, under such an ill-omened distribution of power, and without any superior mind to direct or control it, peace could only be preserved till it suited the convenience of any party to violate it. For the space of twenty-three years after the death of Alexander, confusion and bloodshed reigned throughout the whole extent of his vast dominions. The people and their interests everywhere retrograde into obscurity; and we see nothing but generals and soldiers contending about the division of masses that had no recognized masters. There are few periods in history so lamentable.¹

¹ See *Rotteck*, ii. 143, 144. What could be expected from generals

The spirit of freedom, which had been already excited by the return of the exiles according to the command of Alexander, now began to assume a more decided tone and character among the Greek states. Demosthenes, who was languishing in exile at Ægina and Trœzen, was recalled; and Athens, joined by nearly all the states of Greece, enacted the part of leader in the Lamian war now commencing (323—322 B. C.). The news of Alexander's death had excited a common enthusiasm in the minds of the Greeks; the speeches of Demosthenes fanned the flame, and the times of Themistocles appeared again to return. Leosthenes, a bold and experienced captain of mercenaries, was equally zealous in rousing the Athenians to revolt. Phocion once more appeared as the general of the democracy; and in that character he displayed qualities which commanded respect and admiration. Antipater was but very indifferently prepared to meet the forces of the confederates. Accordingly, he met with a defeat near the Straits of Thermopylæ, and was compelled to shut himself up in the strong city of Lamia. Leonatus attempted to effect his deliverance, but he lost the battle and his life in the attempt. Craterus, however, who had opportunely returned with the Veterans from Asia, lent him more effectual assistance. He defeated the allies near Crannon; and the policy of Antipater completed the victory. Antipater entered into negotiations with the states separately, and thus broke up the confederacy.

Athens was now compelled to give up her democratic form of government.¹ The number of citizens qualified to

who were accustomed to decide everything by the sword? So rapid and violent was the contest about dividing the inheritance, that they forgot to enter the body of Alexander—a duty that was afterwards performed by Ptolemy.

¹ The unfortunate termination of this war justified, it is true, the apprehensions of Phocion; but we are grieved to see that man, whose equals in integrity and nobleness of mind are scarcely to be found in history (*Plut. Demosth.*) acting on the side of a cunning egotist like Demades (*Cf. Paus. vii. 10. 1*), who thought he could not profitably employ his great talents except as a hireling of Antipater (*μακεδονί-*

take a part in the government amounted to nine thousand; twelve thousand were disfranchised, because they did not possess the requisite property-qualification—ten thousand drachmas—and many were sent as colonists to Thrace. A Macedonian garrison was also established in the harbour of Munychia. The popular tribunals, if not wholly abolished, were confined within narrow limits; and political eloquence, if not entirely prohibited, was greatly restricted.' In this revolution, Demosthenes, the great advocate of Grecian freedom, terminated his life. The punishment of death had been decreed against him;² and Macedonian soldiers pursued him to the temple of Neptune, in the island of Calauria. Rather than fall into the hands of the vengeful Antipater, he preferred swallowing the poison which he carried about with him in a quill. He then veiled himself, reclining his head backwards, till he felt the operation of the poison. "O Neptune!" he exclaimed, "they have defiled thy temple, but, honouring thee, I will leave it while yet living." But he sunk before the altar, and a sudden death separated him from a world which, after the fall of his country, contained no happiness for him. Where shall we find a character of more grandeur and purity than that of Demosthenes! (322 B. C.)³

After the death of Meleager, Perdiccas stood at the head of the administration. Some attempt was made, however, on the part of the Macedonians, to counteract his influence, by marrying Aridæus to his relative Eurydice. Yet the influence of Perdiccas was still on the increase; and his designs became more manifest when he obtained the hand of

ζειν). *Hermann*, p. 362. Phocion, as chief of the administration under the new constitution, still endeavoured to the utmost of his power to ameliorate the lot of Athens.—*Plut. Phoc.* 27-29.

¹ *Suidas*, Δημάδης. (Antipater), κατέλυσε τὰ δικαστήρια καὶ τοὺς ῥητορικοὺς ἀγῶνας.

² The orator, Demades, who drew up the decree for the destruction of Demosthenes (*Plut. Dem.* 28), was the author of the proposition for deifying Alexander, and declaring him the thirteenth of the Olympian gods.—*Ælian*, V. H. v. 12.

³ *Heeren*.

Cleopatra, the sister of Alexander. This event caused considerable excitement among the generals, who now began to exhibit their hostility against the regent, under a pretended solicitude for the safety of the monarchy. Antigonus was the first who came into collision with Perdiccas. Perdiccas had already crippled his power, by conferring the government of the neighbouring provinces, Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, upon Eumenes, one of the ablest generals of Alexander. Antigonus hastened to Macedonia to answer the charges brought against him by Perdiccas. Here he entered into negotiations with Craterus and Antipater, for the overthrow of the regent. A common attack was determined upon; and they calculated upon the support of Ptolemy, who had already begun to consider the province of Egypt as his own kingdom. He had enlarged it by the conquest of Cyrene, and rendered it dear to the Macedonians by burying the corpse of Alexander in Alexandria, instead of conveying it to the temple of Jupiter Ammon.

Perdiccas made suitable preparations to meet the impending storm. He stationed an army under the command of Eumenes at the Hellespont, to prevent the passage of the enemy, whilst the Ætolians should occupy their attention by an attack upon Macedonia, in Europe. He himself, accompanied by the king, set out for Egypt (321 B. C.). Eumenes, however, could not prevent the passage of the Hellespont. He met with traitors in his own camp; Neoptolemus went over to the enemy with a body of troops. Craterus expected that more would follow his example, or at least that the Macedonians, in the army of Eumenes, would not fight against him, out of respect for him. But Eumenes frustrated these expectations; Craterus and Neoptolemus lost their lives, as well as the victory. These advantages, however, were more than counterbalanced by the unfortunate issue of Perdiccas's expedition to Egypt. The mildness and liberality of Ptolemy induced many of the enemy to join him; and the camp of Perdiccas was never

clear of dissatisfaction and treason, and even the generals were murdered who were best adapted to exercise dominion over the whole.

These events changed the face of affairs, and at Trisparadus, in Syria, where Antipater and Antigonus were in attendance, fresh arrangements were entered into. Ptolemy was prudently satisfied with the possession of Egypt; and Antipater was appointed regent—to the great dissatisfaction of Eurydice, the wife of Aridæus. Babylonia was now given to Seleucus, who had hitherto been commander of the cavalry; and Media to Python. On the other hand, Eumenes and Alcetus, brother of Perdiccas, were condemned to death. The management of the war was entrusted to Antigonus; but Antipater associated his son Cassander with him, and, accompanied by the king,² led a portion of the royal army and elephants into Europe (320 B. C.).

Antigonus commenced the war with great success. Eumenes, after a battle which he lost by the treachery of one of his generals, was compelled to shut himself up in the fortress of Nora. Antigonus offered Eumenes his liberty on condition of swearing allegiance to him, or, in other words, rendering himself subservient to the prosecution of his plans and enterprises. Eumenes, however, changed the terms of the oath, and, instead of binding himself to Antigonus, swore fidelity to the king and his friends. The Macedonian was set at liberty, and Antigonus saw too late that he himself had been made the dupe. About this period, Antipater died, and was succeeded, not by his son Cassander, but by Polysperchon (319 B. C.). Cassander, however, did not tamely submit to this arrangement, but passed over into Asia, where he entered into negotiations with Antigonus. Thus there commenced a war in Asia and Europe, in which the royal house appeared merely as a party.

In order to maintain himself in Macedonia, Polysperchon summoned Olympias, the old enemy of Antipater and his

family, from Epirus. At the same time he called upon the Greeks, in the name of the king, to regain their ancient freedom, by the expulsion of the governors and garrisons established by Antipater. He also united himself with Eumenes, and gave him the command of the royal troops in Asia, amongst which were the three thousand *Argyraspidæ* (silver shield-bearers), distinguished for their courage. This new struggle did not terminate favourably for the royal house. Athens did indeed expel the garrison of Antipater, and restore the ancient democracy; and, during this tumultuous outburst of democratic feeling, Phocion was compelled to drink the juice of hemlock (318). But this was of short duration. Cassander appeared with a fleet and an army, rendered himself master of the city, and compelled the Athenians to accept Demetrius Phalereus, a friend of Phocion, as their governor. He introduced, however, a lower census than had before existed; every one who claimed the exercise of civic rights was required to possess a thousand drachmas.¹ Polysperchon besieged Megalopolis; but his elephants and machines were of no avail, whilst Clitus, the commander of his fleet, was defeated on the Hellespont.

Eumenes, who was now in Asia again, at the head of an army, possessed sufficient tact to preserve it true to his interests against the allurements of Antigonus and Ptolemy. He received a gift of five hundred talents from Polysperchon. In order to counteract the jealousy of his subordinate officers, he made a proposition to erect a golden throne in a tent, to place upon it a diadem and a sceptre—to hold consultations before it, and to issue orders in the name of the king, as if he was still alive. This proposition was agreed to; and as Eumenes was enabled to pay liberally by the money he had received from Polysperchon, his army increased considerably. He went to Phœnicia in order to collect a fleet. (318 B. C.). But after Antigonus had defeated the royal fleet, he could no longer maintain himself

¹ *Diod. xviii. 75.*

on the coast ; and he determined to retire, therefore, into the interior of Asia, and there form a junction with the royal satraps. But in this portion of Alexander's monarchy, jealousy reigned universally ; Python and Seleucus declared against the royal house, and summoned Antigonus from Mesopotamia. The superior generalship of Eumenes enabled him to compete successfully with the craft of Antigonus. He defeated him in two engagements. In the latter, the Argyraspidæ, having lost their wives, children, and baggage, delivered up Eumenes on condition of their being restored. Antigonus, having put Eumenes to death, incorporated the greater part of his troops in his own army ; and Python fell into his power. Peucestes and Seleucus were expelled whilst the remaining satraps only effected their liberation by an unconditional submission (315 B. C.).

CHAPTER XXXVII.

SUCCESSORS OF ALEXANDER.

Gradual Extinction of the Royal Family—Confederacy against Antigonus—Fluctuating Divisions of the Empire—Exploits of Demetrius—Battle of Ipsus.

LADEN with immense treasure from Persis, Susa, Media, and Cilicia, Antigonus returned to Asia Minor, accompanied by a formidable army. The extirpation of the legitimate ruling family had already commenced. Olympias had returned to Macedonia ; and her first act was to put to death Philip Aridæus and Eurydice. Eurydice, who was allowed the choice of a dagger, a rope, or a cup of poison, suspended herself by her girdle—expressing a wish that Olympias might experience a similar fate. This wish was

accomplished full soon. Cassander, whose brother, Nicanor, had been murdered at the command of Olympias, entered Macedonia and compelled her to seek protection within the walls of Pydna. Olympias was at last compelled to surrender; and the mother of Alexander, accused as the murderer of the family of the king Antipater, and many other noble Macedonians, was executed. Cassander now brought Alexander, the son of Roxana, by Alexander, to Amphipolis. The young prince was not educated in a regal style; and, from this period, the royal house receded more and more into the back-ground.

A new war broke out among the generals upon the return of Antigonus to Asia Minor. Cassander¹ was in possession of Macedonia and the greater part of Greece; Asander, satrap of Caria, had extended his power over many provinces of Asia; Ptolemy was master of Syria and Phœnicia; and Lysimachus had advanced over the Hellespont to Mysia. Having formed a common league, they demanded from Antigonus that he should share with them the royal treasures, that he should acknowledge their right to the provinces they had previously possessed, that he should give up Babylon to Seleucus, or prepare for war. Antigonus replied, that he was just now engaged in making preparations against Ptolemy.

The prudent Ptolemy, however, escaped his indignation by surrendering Syria and Phœnicia. Antigonus was, however, compelled to besiege Tyre for the space of fourteen months—being unable to take it until he had fitted out a considerable fleet, for all the vessels had been carried away from the province. Eight thousand men were employed in

¹ As an appendage to the brutality of the Macedonian age, we may here mention one of those wild vagaries which are no less characteristic of its spirit. Cassander's brother, Alexander, founded a town, called Uranopolis, where he introduced a new dialect; a cock was called *δρροπόας*, a herald, *ἀπύτης*, &c. See *Heracles Lembos*, ap. *Athen.* 3. 98, D.E., where there is a letter written by this Alexander, in this new jargon.—*Wachsmuth*, vol. ii. p. 495, *note*.

felling timber on Mount Lebanon, and two thousand beasts of burthen in transporting it to the Phœnician dock-yards; whilst similar preparations were made on Mount Taurus in Cilicia. At the same time Asander was conquered, and Lysimachus, who was implicated in various struggles in Thrace, found employment from the support that was afforded to his enemies. Antigonus suddenly directed his arms against Cassander, who was formally accused of being the enemy of the royal family, on account of the murder of Olympias, the disgraceful treatment of the young king, and the rebuilding of Thebes and Olynthus—which could only be considered as insults to the memory of Philip and Alexander. Accordingly the Milesian Aristodemus was despatched to Greece, in order that he might, in conjunction with Polysperchon and his son Alexander, annihilate the power of Cassander—whilst the liberation of the Greeks should be given out as the ostensible motive. Antigonus and Ptolemy once more declared the Greeks free; and the former soon afterwards sent a general to drive out Cassander's garrison (312 B.C.).

The Peloponnesus was now the theatre of a struggle, diversified indeed by the fluctuations of victory, and the changes of contending parties. Alexander, the son of Polysperchon, again took the side of Cassander; and Telesphorus, whom Antigonus had sent with a new army, supported for some time an independent character. At one time, Antigonus had the preponderance, and at another Cassander, until the whole Peloponnesus was detached from the influence of the latter, with the exception of Sicyon and Corinth. The contest of Cassander with Ætolia and Epirus was attended with no decisive results; but Ptolemy, the nephew of Antigonus, was successful in expelling the garrisons of Cassander out of Eubœa, Bœotia, &c., and in making even Athens waver. Antigonus was prevented from crossing the Hellespont by the ill success of his arms in Syria; his son, Demetrius, was completely defeated by Ptolemy near Gaza. Syria and

Phœnicia became the prize of the conqueror, but the presence of Antigonus soon compelled him to relinquish it. Seleucus, on the other hand, not only maintained himself in Babylon, but conquered Susiana and Media, and afterwards extended his dominion to the Indus. The balance of power was still in favour of Antigonus; and, in comparison with the other generals, he might be considered as the lord of Asia.

Peace, therefore, could only be of short duration. The dominion of Europe had been secured to Cassander until Alexander, the son of Roxana, should have attained his majority. The young prince was, therefore, put to death along with his mother; and Hercules, who was only seven years of age, fell also a victim to the ambitious policy of Cassander. Antigonus, at the same time, put to death Cleopatra, the sister of Alexander. As all the members of the royal family were now removed out of the way, with the exception of Thessalonice, whom Cassander had married; the majority of a legitimate heir to the throne could no longer be put forward as the object of future struggles, and the ambition of the generals must now unmask itself to the conviction of all.

Five generals of Alexander still remained to dispute the possession of his empire. Cassander derived his importance from his being the husband of Thessalonice, and his sway over Macedonia being connected with an influence over the general affairs of Greece. Antigonus had, in a great measure, united the magnificent countries of Lower Asia, and he found himself ably seconded in the prosecution of his plans by his talented son, Demetrius. Ptolemy was satisfied with the wealth and security of his kingdom, and did not aim at a more extended empire; but his naval power, and the possession of Cyprus, brought him into immediate contact with Greece itself, as well as the Greeks on the coast of Asia. The kingdom of Lysimachus was less important, from its extent, than its situation between Asia and Europe.

Seleucus was still in the back-ground, but destined, at no distant period, to take a more decisive part in the great struggle.

Grecian freedom was soon the pretext for a general collision. Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, being despatched to Athens with a fleet, expelled Demetrius Phalereus¹—gave to Athens its democratic form of government and timber for the construction of a fleet. The Athenians in return exhibited their degeneracy by giving the title of “Kings” to him and his father, and by placing their statues along with those of Harmodius and Aristogiton, and converting them into protecting deities.² Demetrius was ambitious to obtain similar marks of gratitude from the rest of Greece. He had already liberated Megara and Sicyon, and Corinth would have experienced a similar liberation had he not been called away by his father to expel the ruler of Egypt from the possession of Cyprus. Here Demetrius was of great service; and in the siege of Salamis he employed those wonderful machines which procured him the title of *Poliorketes*, or “besieger of cities.” He also obtained a naval victory over Ptolemy (307 B.C.). The Milesian Aristodemus, who was

¹ When Demetrius Phalereus instituted a census of the inhabitants of Athens, the citizens are said to have been 21,000 in number, the resident aliens, or *Metæci* 10,000, and the slaves 400,000. It may be safely stated that the citizens never, at any period, exceeded 30,000; so that either the population of Athens had not diminished in the same ratio with that of other Greek states, or naturalization became more frequent after the battle of Chæronea.

² No less than three hundred statues were erected to Demetrius Phalereus within the space of three hundred days. The decrees in honour of Demetrius Poliorcetes and his father, Antigonus, almost bordered upon insanity. Besides deifying them, they set apart a whole month as a *Hieromenia* (sacred month)—initiated Demetrius into the mysteries, and assigned him a residence in the Parthenon, in order that he might have opportunities of familiar converse with the goddess Minerva. Having excited the indignation of Demetrius by animadverting upon the remission of a fine which should have been paid into the treasury—they decreed that whatever Demetrius uttered should be regarded as consecrated. Such follies did the Athenians commit—vainly imagining that they were in possession of liberty because they had no garrison to overawe them.—*Plut. Dem.* 12, 23; 26, 30; 24.

sent to the father of the young hero with news of the victory, opened his message with the words, "Hail, king Antigonus!" And from this time, the title of king was adopted not only by Antigonus, but Lysimachus, Seleucus, and Cassander.

The victory of Cyprus was followed by the immediate conquest of the island; but an attack upon Egypt by Antigonus was a total failure. A storm separated the fleet of Demetrius, and shattered a great portion of it; whilst Ptolemy, who knew so well how to avail himself of the natural strength of the country, counteracted the exertions of the land-army. Demetrius returned to Asia Minor, and endeavoured to obtain the accession of the powerful Rhodes to the interests of his father. The Rhodians, whose commercial policy would not allow them to declare against Egypt, were reluctant to enter into this union; and, when force of arms was appealed to, they made a most gallant and effective resistance. The siege was raised, and a treaty entered into, guaranteeing to the Rhodians their independence, and the liberty of remaining neutral in the war against Ptolemy. Demetrius was more successful in Greece. He drove Cassander back to Thessaly, and regained the whole of Bœotia, as well as the important Chalcis in Eubœa. After passing the winter in Athens, he set out for the Peloponnesus, expelled the garrisons of Cassander, and assumed at Corinth the title of "Generalissimo of the Greeks."

As Antigonus demanded unconditional subjection, Cassander called upon the other generals to make common cause with him. Seleucus, Ptolemy, and Lysimachus recognized a common danger, and entered into a confederacy with him against the growing preponderance of Antigonus (302 B. C.). Cassander stationed a numerous army on the borders of Macedonia to oppose Demetrius, who had landed in Thessaly; but Lysimachus crossed the Hellespont, and took possession of most of the Greek cities on the coasts of Asia. Antigonus, indeed, gave him a check; but, as Ptolemy and

Seleucus were advancing, he was obliged to call in the assistance of Demetrius, who reluctantly quitted Greece where his efforts had been crowned with the most complete success.

On his arrival in Asia, Demetrius regained all the Greek cities which Lysimachus had taken, and garrisoned the Hellespont during the winter. By this means he cut off all connexion between Lysimachus and Cassander; and many of the troops belonging to the first passed over to Antigonus. In the mean time, Seleucus arrived with a numerous army, and four hundred and eighty elephants, which he had received in a treaty of peace from the Indian king, Sandracottus. He united himself with the confederates; and this union excited great anxiety in Antigonus, who was now eighty-three years of age, and had hitherto looked upon his antagonist with contempt. The decisive battle took place at Ipsus in Phrygia. Antigonus lost his life, and Demetrius escaped to the sea-coast with no more than four thousand cavalry and five thousand infantry (301 B.C.).

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

SUCCESSORS OF ALEXANDER.

Exploits of Demetrius.—Seleucus and Lysimachus.

THE most formidable among the successors of Alexander was now removed out of the way. His son Demetrius, who had been deified at Athens, and saluted as the "Generalissimo" of liberated Greece, was now a fugitive; and the splendid kingdom of Asia became the booty of the conquerors. All Asia within Mount Taurus fell to Lysimachus; whilst Plistarchus, brother of Cassander, received Cilicia, and the remainder was assigned to Seleucus.

The victorious generals, with the exception of Cassander, assumed the independent title of king (Antigonus and Demetrius had already done so), and the very appearance of union among the different portions of the empire now disappeared. The separated masses consolidated themselves into distinct kingdoms. Yet these kingdoms, notwithstanding the essential difference in the nature of the inhabitants, present a species of unity or connection—arising from the common descent of the ruling families, the preservation of some leading traits of Macedonian government and manners, and from their numerous mutual relations, both in war and peace.¹

Demetrius now reposed all his expectations in the Athenians. He set sail for the city from Ephesus; but he received intelligence on his voyage, from an Athenian vessel, that the gates were shut against him.² He now wandered about as a pirate, and attacked with his fleet the territory of Lysimachus. The powerful Seleucus did not place any confidence in his neighbours Lysimachus and Ptolemy; and in order to obtain the assistance of an accomplished general, he married Stratonice, the young and beautiful daughter of Demetrius. A misunderstanding, however, soon took place, and Demetrius returned to Greece (298 B. C.). At Athens, Lachares had usurped the government; but Demetrius, having blockaded the city both by land and sea, reduced it by famine. He forthwith garrisoned the city and harbour, and subjugated a great portion of the Peloponnesus.

Upon the death of Cassander, a dispute arose between his two sons respecting the succession. The eldest brother, Antipater, put his mother Thessalonice to death, because

¹ *Rotteck*, ii. 148.

² We must recollect, says *Rotteck*, that there were two parties in this city; that, at all times, the multitude, without any fixed character, yields to the impulse of a few, that a discontented people grasps at every novelty, and, if it does not answer its expectations, as readily abjures it.—ii. 155.

she favoured the younger, Alexander. He now applied to Lysimachus for assistance, and the younger brother called in Demetrius, and Pyrrhus, king of Epirus. The latter possessed great military talents and a restless ambition, and, like Demetrius, was well adapted to turn to account the confusion of Greece. Having mediated a peace between the two brothers, he received a portion of the Macedonian possessions bordering on Epirus as a recompence. But now Demetrius appeared, and as Alexander did not know how to get rid of him, he sought his life. Demetrius, however, being aware of the intention, anticipated its execution, and Alexander forfeited his own life for his rashness and perfidy (294 B.C.). Demetrius was then saluted king by the Macedonians. His dominion was more extensive than that of Cassander, as he added his late acquisitions in Greece to the territory of Macedonia. He erected the fortress Demetrias on the Pagasæan gulf, which was called, from its position and strength, one of the three "fetters of Greece."

But Demetrius, instead of consolidating his government peaceably, entered into a war with the Ætolians and king Pyrrhus. At the same time, he assumed a tyrannical bearing—imitated the despots of the East—paid no attention to the supplications of his subjects, and, on one occasion, kept the ambassadors of Athens waiting two years for an answer. Intoxicated by success, he made preparations for regaining the kingdom of his father in Asia. But the feeling of a common danger revived the ancient confederacy subsisting between Seleucus, Lysimachus, and Ptolemy; and it was joined also by Pyrrhus. His soldiers, too, sickened with the haughtiness of his conduct, passed over to Pyrrhus, whose condescension and simplicity of manner reminded them strongly of their favourite kings, Philip and Alexander. Demetrius was obliged to seek his safety in flight; and his

¹ *Paus.* i. 29. 11.

kingdom was divided between Pyrrhus and Lysimachus, after he had ruled over it seven years. Ptolemy, in consequence of this success, celebrated the Isthmian games; and the Greeks were obliged to appear as spectators, adorned with palm boughs, in honour of their newly recovered liberties¹ (287. B.C.).

Still Demetrius mustered sufficient force to land in Asia, and wrest Caria and Lydia from Lysimachus. But in his passage to Phrygia he found his march impeded by a scarcity of provisions and the dissatisfaction of his soldiers; whilst the Cilician pass separated him from his true element, the sea. At last, Seleucus assigned him a place of residence in Syria, where, far removed from the toils of active life, he gave himself up to sensual indulgence, and died after a few years. As the power which his son, Antigonus Gonatas, possessed in Greece was comparatively insignificant,—Ptolemy, Seleucus, and Lysimachus, may now be considered as holding divided sway over the dismembered empire of Alexander the Great (284 B.C.).

The struggle for empire now lay between Seleucus and Lysimachus; for the disposition of Ptolemy was eminently pacific, and this was favoured by the situation of his kingdom. Yet his daughter, Arsinoë, who had been married to Lysimachus, was the principal cause of the disturbances that followed. Actuated by hatred towards her step-son Agathocles, she induced her husband to put him to death; and Seleucus, at the request of the family of the deceased, undertook an invasion of the Asiatic kingdom of Lysimachus. It fell into his hands almost without striking a blow; and Lysimachus lost his life as well as the victory. He now passed over the Hellespont, in order to add Macedonia to his other conquests. But he was murdered (281 B.C.) by Ptolemy Ceraunus, son of the Egyptian king, at no great distance from Lysimachia in his seventy-seventh

¹ *Suid.* Δημήτριος, l. 540. *Ed.* Kuster.

year. The murderer mounted the throne of Macedonia; but Asia Minor remained united with the kingdom of the Seleucidæ.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

PARTITION OF THE MACEDONIAN EMPIRE.

Egypt, the Ptolemies—Syria under the Seleucidæ—Pergamum, the Attali—Parthia, the Arsacides—Bactria—The Jews—Bithynia, &c.

WE shall now take a rapid historical survey of the distinct kingdoms which arose out of the conquests of Alexander, and afterwards commenced an independent existence. *Egypt* was the first, in order of time, that established its independence. As belonging to it we may reckon Cyrene, Cyprus, Cœlosyria, and Phœnicia, so important for its naval supremacy. The dominion of the first Ptolemies extended over many Greek cities on the coast of Asia Minor, the Hellespont, and even the shores of Thrace. These possessions served also as a bulwark to protect the kingdom of Egypt from immediate attack.

Ptolemy I. (Soter or Lagi) and his two successors, Ptolemy Philadelphus and Ptolemy Euergetes, reigned over Egypt for the space of a century (323—224). During this period Egypt attained a most flourishing condition; and Alexandria became the seat of a most lucrative and extensive commerce. The number of its free inhabitants amounted to above 300,000; and we must not forget that the number of slaves in antiquity was far more considerable. On the death of the second Ptolemy, there were no less than 740,000 talents in the treasury, a fleet of more than a thousand ships, and a paid army of 240,000 men. Ptolemy II. conducted a very successful war against Syria, and annexed Abyssinia to his dominions. He was the husband of the

beautiful Berenice, whose hair¹ still exists as a constellation in our celestial maps. The regal power was unlimited: the Egyptians looked upon their rulers as foreigners; but, as they were freely permitted to enjoy their religious institutions and national customs, they gradually lost that energy which had so often roused them to rebellion against the Persians. With Ptolemy IV., Philopater, commences a series of princes distinguished only by their luxury, indolence, and cruelty; and, after a lapse of nearly two centuries, Egypt fell a prey to the victorious arms of Rome (30 B. C.).

The *Syrian kingdom* of Seleucus I., Nicator, embraced all the Asiatic countries from the Hellespont to the Indus, being comprised within nearly the same limits as the Persian empire of Cyrus. Syria was the principal country; and he built for his residence Antioch, on the Orontes, which became the first city in Asia; whilst the populous city of Seleucia, on the Tigris, occupied the place of the fallen Babylon. Yet the vast extent of these countries, and the great dissimilarity between the different nations that inhabited them, prevented the consolidation of the Syrian kingdom; whilst Antioch, unfortunately chosen as the seat of government, mixed it up with all the quarrels of the West. On the death of Antiochus the Great (187), the Syrian kingdom rapidly declined; and, after Antiochus Sidetes had perished with his whole army in a war against the Parthians, the power of the Seleucidian monarchy was for ever broken (130 B. C.). Its total destruction took place 64 B. C.

Amongst the new states, which detached themselves from the great Syrian empire, *Pergamum* holds the first rank. Its kings were termed Attali, and have acquired an honourable celebrity by the encouragement which they afforded to science and literature. The Gallic hordes, which came over

¹ *Coma Berenices.*

from Thrace (178 B. C.) into Asia Minor on the invitation of the Bithynian king, Nicomedes I., were conquered by Antiochus Soter, and located by Attalus I. of Pergamum in a portion of Greater Phrygia, which bore, on this account, the name of *Galatia*.

Under the government of Antiochus Theos, Arsaces revolted in *Parthia*, and became the first of a series of princes who were constantly extending their dominion at the expence of the Seleucidæ (256 B. C.). Arsaces II. defeated Seleucus Callinicus; and from this victory the Parthians dated their independence (238 B. C.). One of the succeeding kings, Mithridates I. or Arsaces VI., extended the limits of his dominions to the Euphrates in the West, and the Indus in the East. The Parthians long preserved the character of military nomads (i. e. without fixed habitations), and were distinguished for their cavalry and archers. Their kings resided during summer at Ecbatana, and in winter they removed to Ctesiphon, situated on the Eastern bank of the Tigris, over against Seleucia.

In *Bactria*, the Greek governor, Theodotus, rendered himself independent of Syria. This kingdom was founded at the same time with the Parthian, but continued for a much shorter period. It carried on an extensive commerce with India; and the kings of Bactria made even conquests there. It is a phenomenon remarkable enough (but what a tribute to commanding intellect!) to see Greeks, at such a distance from their native country, and detached from all connexion with their kindred, ruling in the midst of strange and warlike nations. After the lapse of 130 years the Bactrian kingdom was destroyed by barbarian nomads from beyond the Jaxartes (126 B. C.); and the province of Bactria was afterwards conquered by the Parthians.

The *Jews*, after the death of Alexander, participated in the fate of Cœlosyria and Phœnicia. From the fall of Antigonus, till the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, they were tributary to the Egyptians, yet lived in the undisturbed

enjoyment of their own laws. They were reduced by Antiochus the Great, under the dominion of the Seleucidæ, who treated them with great harshness, until the Maccabees enabled them to throw off the yoke. The Jews, notwithstanding their proverbial attachment to the usages of their forefathers, could not resist the general tendency towards Greek manners, which prevailed throughout the whole of Western Asia. This was particularly the case with the Jews living at Alexandria, numbers of whom acquired the Greek language, and many engaged in the study of Greek literature.

There were other countries in Lower Asia, unconquered by Alexander, which afterwards formed themselves into independent states. Such was *Bithynia*, whose kings, by their position between Pergamum, Macedonia, and Syria, maintained their importance till the period of Roman aggrandisement. In like manner, *Cappadocia* was rendered independent of the Grecian princes, by Ariarathes (310). The two kingdoms of *Paphlagonia* and *Pontus* were detached, under similar circumstances, from the dominion of the Macedonians. But though these countries were not ruled over by Grecian princes, yet they were not exempt from the influence of Grecian manners and civilization. For the Greek cities still preserved their administration, language, and customs, in the midst of these people; whilst matrimonial connections, as between the kings of Syria and Pontus, served to promote the general progress of civilization. The object of Alexander, namely, to amalgamate the people of Europe and Asia, was thus partially accomplished; and the language, and literature, and manners of the Greeks, spread over countries which had hitherto been a prey to barbarism.

CHAPTER XL.

THE ACHÆAN LEAGUE—SUBJUGATION OF GREECE.

Invasion of the Gauls—Pyrrhus King of Epirus—The Achæan League, Aratus—Ætolian Confederacy—Revolution in Sparta, Agis, and Cleomenes—Philip and the Ætolians—Subjugation of Greece by Rome—Its subsequent condition.

HAVING now developed the spread of Grecian dominion over Asia, we return to Macedonia and Greece. Ptolemy Ceraunus, having occupied the throne only for a year and a half, lost his life in an invasion of the Gauls. The Gallic army, which consisted of 150,000 infantry and 60,000 cavalry, directed their course towards Macedonia, allured by the riches of the country, whose weakness and lethargy promised them an easy victory. At the Straits of Thermopylæ, they were arrested, like Xerxes, by the confederate army of the Greeks; but the Thessalians shewed to the Gauls the same path which Xerxes had previously made use of. The Gauls, under cover of a thick mist, surprised the Phocians who defended the pass; but the Greeks made good their retreat to the Athenian fleet. The Gauls now pressed forward to Delphi—but they met with greater disasters in their attempt upon it. A violent storm came on from the tops of Parnassus—many perished by lightning—many were killed by stones rolled from the heights—whilst the Greeks ascribed their victory to the miraculous¹ interposition of the gods. The greatest portion of the Gallic army perished by cold, famine, or the swords of the Greeks (278 B. C.); the survivors partly located themselves in the south of Thrace, and

¹ "The inaccessible and romantic situation of Delphi was rendered still more striking by the innumerable echoes which multiplied every sound, and increased the ignorant veneration of visitants for the god of the oracle."—*Gillies*. Some advantage might be taken of this to inspire terror into the enemy.

partly passed over into Asia, on the invitation of Nicomedes (p. 408).

In the mean time, Antigonus Gonatas, son of Demetrius, availed himself of the confusion of the times to seize the throne of Macedonia. He was expelled by Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, upon his return from the Tarentine war; but the restless energy of Pyrrhus rendered his reign of short duration. He marched against Sparta at the request of Cleonymus; but, when all his vigorous operations were insufficient to take the capital of Laconia, he retired to Argos, whither the treachery of Aristeus invited him. The combat which ensued was obstinate and bloody; and the monarch, who had entered the town with his forces, exchanged his dress in order to fight with more boldness, and encounter dangers with greater facility. The mother of an Argive, whom Pyrrhus was about to run through, seeing her son's danger from the top of a house, threw down a tile, and brought Pyrrhus to the ground. His head was cut off and carried to Antigonus, who gave his remains a magnificent funeral (272 B.C.).

Antigonus, having now attained to the peaceable possession of Macedonia, endeavoured to extend his power, particularly in Greece.¹ Since the death of Alexander, Greece had suffered in every war that successively broke out, and beheld its ancient freedom trampled upon by foreign princes, or domestic tyrants. Neither Athens, nor Sparta, nor Thebes retained enough of their ancient spirit to assume the ascendancy; and a Macedonian garrison was stationed in Corinth. Nearly the whole Peloponnesus was subject to the dominion of tyrants under the protectorate of Antigonus; the ancient provinces were dismembered, and all former ties dissolved. The fugitives and mercenaries formed themselves into bands

¹ The dream of universal empire was now at an end—the kingdom of Macedonia was reduced to moderate dimensions. It was again involved in disputes with the barbarous tribes in its neighbourhood; and Greece, which had been the prize of Philip's exertions, was again its highest object.—*Rotteck*, ii. 159.

of robbers; and when nothing was to be earned by mercenary warfare, they committed depredations upon the surrounding country.¹ Legal freedom was to be found in Rhodes and Byzantium alone.

But another power, which had hitherto been unimportant, began to develop itself, and attract the scattered elements of Grecian energy. The ancient confederacy of the twelve cities of Achaia, which had been broken up during a period of confusion,² began to reestablish itself about the year 284 B.C. Dymæ, Patræ, Tritæa, and Pharæ first reunited themselves; and their example was followed by Ægium, Bura, and Ceraunia. The operations of the confederacy were limited for a considerable time to the restoration and maintenance of internal concord. The union of the Achæans was based upon equality;³ the federal assemblies, two of which took place annually, were held at Ægium. A *Strategos*⁴ was appointed every year, who assumed the presidency of the assembly, and the supreme command in the field. He

¹ Ἡ μὲν οὖν ὅπλων παρασκευὴ συνήθης ἦν, πάντων, ὡς ἔπος εἰπῆν, τότε κλοπείαις χρωμένων καὶ καταδρομαῖς ἐπ' ἀλλήλους.—*Plut. Arat.* 6. Plutarch uses Ἀρχικλωψ for a leader of these banditti. Compare *Archipirata*, *Liv.* xxvii. 11.

² The confederacy appears to have been dissolved by the destruction of the ancient capital, Helice, containing the sanctuary of the deity of their race, Neptune, which, together with Bura, was overwhelmed by an earthquake and irruption of the sea, B.C. 373.

³ Polybius considers it a model of democracy:—τῆς ἰσηγορίας καὶ παρρησίας καὶ καθόλου δημοκρατίας ἀθηνικῆς σύστημα (ii. 38, 6).

⁴ The Roman writers call him *Prætor*. He had under him a master of horse (ἵππαρχος). We also meet with a committee of ten for the transaction of ordinary business—styled *δαμιοργοί* among the Achæans, and *ἀποκλητοί* among the Ætolians. "Ita vocant sanctius concilium; ex delectis constat viris."—*Liv.* xxxv. 34. Compare *Polyb.* iv. 5, 9; xx. 1, 1. The regular assemblies each lasted three days. "Supererat unus Justi concilii dies; tertio enim lex jubebat decretum fieri."—*Liv.* xxxii. 22. The right of convening and presiding over the general assembly appears to have belonged strictly to ten *δαμιοργοί* (*summus magistratus*.—*Liv.*); the *Στρατηγός* exercised it on extraordinary occasions only, when, for instance, the people were summoned to appear under arms.—See *Hermann*, p. 392. The Achæan league also introduced a system of uniform coins, weights, and measures.—*Polyb.* ii. 37, 10.

was elected from the different cities in rotation. Every citizen had a right to be admitted to the federal assembly upon attaining his thirtieth year, and, at the same time, was entitled to speak. A permanent *bule*, or senate, was charged with the preparation of subjects for discussion.

This union, so important to Greece, as it admitted other states, was, in a great measure, brought about by Aratus. This remarkable man was born in Sicyon. His father had been murdered by Abantidas, tyrant of that place; and it was with difficulty that he himself escaped to Argos. Hence, Aratus, from his earliest youth, was inspired with the bitterest hatred against all tyrants. Abantidas was no more; Nicocles had succeeded him; and Aratus, notwithstanding his utter want of resources, was determined to rid Sicyon of the tyrant. He deceived the spies by whom he was surrounded; and he mustered a small body of men, consisting almost entirely of slaves, and a few adventurers, whom he had hired from a brigand chief. This little band, inspired by the example and exhortations of Aratus, scaled the walls of Sicyon at break of day, and took the soldiers of Nicocles prisoners. The citizens now flocked together in troops, and set fire to the house of the tyrant; but he escaped by means of a subterranean passage. Thus Sicyon was delivered without blood-shed.

In order to secure this newly-acquired freedom against fresh tyrants, and the kings of Macedonia, Aratus joined Sicyon to the Achæan league (252 B.C.), in which he obtained so much consequence, that he himself was elected Strategos. The objects to which Aratus directed all his energies, were, to expel the Macedonians from the Peloponnesus—to dissolve the tyrannies—to establish the common freedom, and to unite the whole Peloponnesus under uniform laws and institutions.¹ Skilful in negotiation and enterprising in war, though not possessing, in a remarkable

¹ *Polyb.* ii. 43, 7; 37, 9. Compare iv. 1, 7.

degree, the qualities of a general and soldier, he incited the peaceful Achæans to pass the confines of their own narrow territory. Some disputes having occurred in Sicyon, on account of the claims of returned exiles respecting their property, Aratus passed over into Egypt, where he received from Ptolemy Philadelphus one hundred and fifty talents—part of which he applied to the settlement of those disputes. But, when he was elected Strategos a second time, he effected a still greater service for Greece, by liberating the citadel of Corinth, which was garrisoned by the Macedonians.

Having gained over some Macedonian mercenaries, by means of promises, Aratus scaled the walls during a moonlight night, with four hundred men, and was already near the citadel before the alarm was given. Whilst he himself was climbing the rocks with a hundred companions, the remaining three hundred fell upon the Macedonians, who had collected in the interim—put them to flight, and then came to the assistance of Aratus. At break of day the victory was won; and the Corinthians, upon the exhortation of Aratus, joined the Achæan league. Argos was also liberated after some difficulty; and Athens might have been liberated, had it not manifested such a strong predilection in favour of the Macedonians. The league was further strengthened by the accession of Megara and Megalopolis—the tyrant of the latter place voluntarily laying down his authority. During the age of Aratus, and from that period till the final extinction of Grecian independence, no state in Greece could boast of a brighter array of able statesmen and generals than Megalopolis. Philopœmen, Lycortas, and Polybius, the last heroes and statesmen of Greece, would have been ornaments to any age or country.¹

The influence of Macedonia over Greece was now broken; and better times appeared to be in prospect, if unity had only prevailed between Sparta, the Achæans, and Ætolians.

¹ Compare *Hacksmuth*, vol. ii. p. 543.

The Ætolians, who, at the period of the Peloponnesian war, were represented as half-barbarous by Thucydides¹—being known only as mercenaries and robbers—had now acquired importance from their rough energy and their mountain fastnesses, when Macedonia became the centre of Grecian politics. The federal council, the *Panætolium*, entirely democratic in its nature and constitution, was generally held at Thermos; and upon extraordinary occasions it assembled at other places, as, for instance, at Naupactus, Hypata, Lamia; afterwards the assembly at Thermopylæ also became Ætolian.² The chief officer was the *Strategos*, who officiated as president; the *Apocleti* formed a sort of lesser council;³ the *Synedri* appear to have been a judicial body. All the officers were elected in the federal council, where matters relating to peace and war, and to alliances and negotiations with foreign powers, were discussed and decided upon. Amongst the military force of the Ætolians, the cavalry was distinguished by peculiar excellence.

Southern Thessaly, Acarnania, Locris, Phocis, and Bœotia were the countries over which the Ætolians sought to extend their influence with varying success. But, instead of co-operating with the Achæan league for the liberation of Greece, they lent themselves to the schemes of the Macedonian kings to counteract its influence. The Achæans did indeed support the Ætolians in a war with Demetrius II., son and successor of Antigonus Gonatas; but this union was of short duration. After the death of Demetrius, Aratus induced the Macedonian commander, for the sum of one hundred and fifty talents, to give up to the Athenians, Salamis, Sunium, the Piræus, and Munychia.⁴ Many tyrants

¹ The remoteness of their situation had kept the Ætolians strangers to the civilization of the rest of Greece (*Thuc.* i. 5, and particularly iii. 94), and enabled them to remain, with the exception of a few brief intervals, perfectly independent.

² *Liv.* xxxi. 32. "Nisi in Panætolicò et Pylaico concilio ageretur."

³ *Principes*, *Liv.* xxxviii. 8.

⁴ Though Aratus had done this for the Athenians, they, from that

also in the Peloponnesus laid down their authority voluntarily; and the cities, in consequence, joined the Achæan league. The league, in the zenith of its independence and power, included nearly the whole of Arcadia, Messenia, Hermione, Trœzen, Epidaurus, Phlius, Argos, Cleonæ, Megara, Corinth, Ægina, Sicyon, and Athens. However, Athens does not seem to have been united to the Achæans so closely and permanently as the other states. In the Peloponnesus, Elis was adverse to them, and Sparta watched their proceedings with jealousy.

At this period, a revolution occurred in Sparta, which exerted a decided influence upon Grecian affairs. The general corruption, arising from extreme inequality of property, had manifestly threatened the permanence of the institutions of Lycurgus; whilst, at the same time, the power of the Ephori had degenerated into a tyrannical oligarchy.¹ The young king, Agis III., the last of the Eurysthenidæ, was determined to reform the administration of Sparta—and he communicated a portion of his own enthusiasm to the younger citizens. The majority of the citizens were overwhelmed with debt; and their poverty had deprived many of the rights of citizenship, for no one could exercise his rights as citizen who could not contribute his due quota to the public meals,² or afford to go through with the education, and lead the life of a pure born Spartan. The citizens did not amount to more than seven hundred; and this explains the circumstance, that most of the landed property was in the hands of the females.³ Agis attempted to effect a re-division of the land, as well as an abolition of debts, and to recruit the numbers of the Spartan citizens—by enfranchising

time forth, refused to take part in the affairs of the rest of Greece, preferring to ally themselves with foreign powers, particularly with the Ptolemies, and with the kings of Pergamus; whilst the crafty orators exhausted their genius in shewing the most abject flattery towards those monarchs *πᾶν γένος ὑπόμενον ψηφισμάτων καὶ κτηρυγμάτων διὰ τὴν τῶν προιστάτων ἀκρίσιαν.*—*Polyb.* v. 106.

¹ See p. 128, note.

² *Συσσιτιαί*, p. 125.

³ *Plut. Agis*, 6.

Periœci and aliens, and permitting them to possess landed property. Agis gave up his own hereditary estates to be distributed with the rest. The preliminary steps were taken for carrying these measures into effect; and Leonidas, his degenerate colleague, though assisted by the wealthier orders in his attempt to defeat them, was compelled to seek safety in flight. Agis was obliged to undertake a campaign; and during his absence the execution of the project miscarried in the hands of his uncle, Agesilaus, who grossly abused the powers confided to him. Leonidas was recalled by the adversaries of Agis; and Agis, on his return, fell a sacrifice to an infamous cabal (240 B.C.).

But Cleomenes III., the son and successor of Leonidas, followed in the steps of Agis (236 B.C.). Inspired with the same heroism as Agis, he possessed, at the same time, more shrewdness and knowledge of human nature. Ten years after his accession, and on his return from a brilliant expedition against the Achæans, he caused the Ephori to be put to death, and called upon the people to restore the institutions of Lŷcurgus, particularly in reference to equality of property and education (226 B.C.). His measures were, for the most part, a repetition of what Agis had attempted to effect. Land was distributed, including the private property of Cleomenes; Periœci were admitted to the citizenship, and all helots, who were able to raise five minæ, were enfranchised.¹ The terror of the Spartan arms appeared to return with this political regeneration; and, at the same time, the new Macedonian tactics were not neglected. Cleomenes, in conjunction with the Ætolians and Eleans, defeated Aratus several times in the open field; Mantinea, Argos, Megalopolis, &c. were separated from the Achæan league. Overtures towards a reconciliation with Aratus were made by the conqueror, but in vain. The Achæans were compelled to acknowledge Cleomenes as supreme commander; but such an acknowledgment was a death-blow at

¹ *Plut. Cleom.* 11.

that equality which constituted the basis of the confederacy. Aratus, therefore, felt himself necessitated in self-defence to call in Antigonus (Dosoⁿ) of Macedonia to counteract this domestic tyranny, and to surrender his native land, which he had so nobly liberated, to foreign dominion.

Antigonus was but too glad to accord his assistance; but he first demanded, as a pledge of fidelity, the surrender of Corinth, the key of the Peloponnesus. Cleomenes, undismayed in the midst of danger, mustered all his strength, armed the helots, laid waste Argos, stormed Megalopolis, and waged a decisive battle at Sellasia. For a long time the victory wavered; but at last the Macedonian phalanx broke the Spartan ranks, and a terrible slaughter commenced. On this day fell the flower of the Doric people; and for the first time since the invasion of the Heraclidæ, a foreign victor marched through the streets of Sparta (222 B. C.).¹ Aratus, however, reaped but little from the victory; the defeat of the Spartans only paved the way for the dominion of the Macedonians, and the restoration of the abuses which Agis and Cleomenes had endeavoured to eradicate. Antigonus proclaimed his despotic principles by setting up the statues of the tyrants in Argos, and his barbarity by destroying the town of Mantinea, whose inhabitants were either put to the sword or sold into slavery.

A new war now broke out with the Ætolians. After the death of Antigonus Dosoⁿ, the robberies of the Ætolians in the Peloponnesus excited a violent war between the two confederacies, in which Aratus applied for support to Philip. This prince was a bolder and more sagacious general than the great Philip—and, if passion had not hurried him away, a more consummate politician. He conducted the war, for the most part, according to the advice of Aratus, and the issue was successful. But Philip hated Aratus for his bold

¹ Shortly afterward the dynasty of the Heraclidæ was put an end to in Lacedæmon.

assertion of the rights of his native country, and caused him to be removed out of the way by poison. The eyes of the Achæans were now opened to their own dishonour, in bowing to the caprices of a despot, whose tyranny daily grew more oppressive. Aratus was succeeded by Philopœmen¹ as Strategos, a man eminently distinguished as a statesman and warrior, and who proved himself to be to his native country what Epaminondas was to Thebes. The war against the Ætolians was renewed, and although Sparta and various foreign powers, especially Rome, rendered assistance, Philip, in whose interest the Achæans then were, compelled them to conclude a disadvantageous peace.

The interference of Rome effected a change in all existing relations. The Greeks, placed between two contending powers, Macedonia and Rome, had great difficulties to encounter—and, as usual, they sacrificed all the higher views of national honour to self-interest, and the gratification of the moment. As long as the Romans had to contend with Hannibal (from 210 B. C.), they kept Philip employed against the Ætolians, who eagerly offered them their co-operation, with the understanding that Acarnania and all the towns from Ætolia to Corcyra, were to be given up to them. But when they were reduced to submission, the Romans concluded a peace with Philip, and this peace included the Achæans, Bœotians, Thessalians, and Acarnanians as his allies; and Nabis, tyrant of Sparta, the Eleans, Messenians, and Athenians, as the allies of Rome. Hereupon, six thousand Ætolians went to Egypt as mercenaries (204 B. C.).

The Macedonian supremacy in Greece was now only

¹ Philopœmen was incomparably the most scientific commander of ancient times. The invaluable fragment of Polybius, containing a description of the second battle of Mantinea, gives no account of the numbers engaged. We learn, however, that Philopœmen, having assembled the troops of the league, spent eight months in perfecting their discipline and organization, before he ventured to commit them in the field against so experienced and warlike an enemy as the Spartans.—See *Guischardt*, tom. i. p. 177. The applause of assembled Greece, at the Nemean games, rewarded the victor.

maintained by the possession of places of strength—particularly Demetrias, Chalcis, and Corinth. The Ætolians were exceedingly exasperated against Philip; the Athenians made the most bitter complaints at Rome; and these were seconded by the Rhodians, and Attalus, king of Pergamus. In the third year of the war, the majority of the Achæans declared themselves hostile to Philip. At the battle of Cynoscephalæ, which terminated the war, the Roman legion proved its inherent superiority to the Grecian phalanx. The phalanx gained considerable ground on the legions which were unable to withstand its direct shock; but the Romans, though forced to give way, preserved their order—returned repeatedly to the charge—and, even while in the act of retiring, they extended their line so as to gain the flank of the Greeks. Philip durst neither accelerate his march, nor send out any detachment in pursuit; so that twenty maniples had time to turn his flank, and fall upon his rear, which speedily decided the fate of the battle. As the result of this victory, the freedom of the Greeks, that is to say, of such as had been subject to Philip, was once more proclaimed at the Isthmian games; and the proclamation was hailed with demonstrations of the most unbounded joy (196 B. C.).¹

The rapacity of the Ætolians was not satisfied by this war. They were treated by the consul Flaminius in a slighting manner; and they, therefore, joined Antiochus, king of Syria, in his war against the Romans (191 B. C.). On the reduction of Antiochus, the Romans imposed upon them a heavy tribute, which produced the utmost embarrassment and distress. Several Greek towns in Asia, as Miletus, Colophon, Cuma, &c. which had been subject to Antiochus, were declared free; others, like Ephesus, devolved to Eumenes of Pergamus; the Rhodians, who had carried on and decided the naval war almost alone, were rewarded with

¹ Tantâ cœli clamoris alacritate compleverunt, ut certè constet aves, quæ supervolabant, attonitas paventesque decidisse.—*Valer. Max.* 4. 8. 5.

Lycia and Caria, as far as the Mæander. The utter inability of the Greeks to defend themselves was so apparent, that the Romans thought they might trample upon them with impunity. The partisans of Macedonia were by no means inconsiderable in number when the war broke out, and many of the Grecian states refused to bear arms against Perseus, though the Achæans sent Polybius with offers of assistance to the Romans. The number of malcontents increased during the war, owing to the oppression and exactions of the Romans; whilst the Roman party, emboldened by the protection of Roman functionaries and soldiers, committed with impunity the most dreadful outrages against their adversaries. Callicrates, who was at the head of this faction (167 B. C.), delivered up more than a thousand Achæans, and Polybius among the number, upon pretence of sending them to take their trial at Rome. The Rhodians, who had sent haughty messages to the Roman generals and senate, soon paid the penalty of their insolence, by the loss of Lycia and Caria, and the toll they had hitherto levied between the sound and the main-land.

Another twenty years passed amidst internal treason and distractions, and Roman insult and oppression. Sparta had detached herself from the Achæan league, and was supported in her opposition to it by the Roman arbitrators. At length the Achæans gave vent to their long-suppressed indignation, when the Roman senate declared that Sparta, Corinth, Argos, Heraclea on Ceta, and the Arcadian Orchomenus, should be detached from the league. The war was as rashly undertaken as it was injudiciously executed. The unskilfulness of the commanders, Diæus and Critolaus, was not less remarkable than the cowardice of their troops. The overthrow of the Greeks was complete. Unable to recover from their consternation, they laid down their arms, and in the HUNDRED AND SIXTEENTH OLYMPIAD, during the archonship of Antitheus—Mummius, the consul, laid Corinth in ashes (146 B. C.)¹

¹ *Wachsmuth*, vol. ii. pp. 507-512.

With this catastrophe the freedom of Greece was annihilated for ever. But even in its degradation, the superiority of its literary and scientific cultivation enabled it to exert a species of dominion over the conquerors. The condition of Greece was more tolerable¹ than that of any other country conquered by the Romans; even in the time of Strabo, Athens was a republic governed by its own laws. It is cheering to observe, that many places rich in glorious remembrances as Ephesus, Byzantium, Cyzicus, Chalcis, Eretria, Ægina, Patræ, Rhodes, Smyrna, &c. still enjoyed a certain degree of prosperity; whilst unions of remote antiquity, such as the Amphictyonic league, and the Olympic festival,² still continued to exist. What a glory for the sciences, that they had delivered the country which cherished them from those oppressions, from which its legislators, its magistrates and its generals, had laboured in vain to protect it! Though the nationality of Greece was endangered by the worst effects of degeneracy and corruption within, and by the violent inroads of barbarism from without—though she had been stripped of those fair ornaments in which painting and sculpture had arrayed her—though her sanctuaries had been profaned—her inhabitants transplanted—and her ancient cities made desolate, still she not only preserved that nationality pure from external admixture, but she disseminated the humanizing influence of her civilization over the wide regions of the East—through the steppes of central Asia, and the sandy deserts of Africa, imparting a Grecian colouring to political institutions, religion, language, science, and art.³

¹ "Quibus reliquam umbram et residuum libertatis nomen eripere durum, ferum barbarumque est."—*Plin. Epist.* viii. 24. 4.

² Ἰερὰ σύγκλητος. But on the other hand, what desolation did Strabo and Pausanias find in their time!.....Plutarch states it as his opinion, that the whole of Greece could not have mustered three thousand Hoplites. Megara alone once sent that number to the battle of Platææ. Hence, well might it be said of this unhappy country, even after its reckless spoliation by the Romans, that it contained more statues than men.—*Wachsmuth*, vol. ii. pp. 514, 515.

³ *Wachsmuth*, vol. ii. pp. 551, 552.

A higher civilization had commenced at Rome from the period of the second Punic war, and the conquest of Syracuse. The subjugation of Macedonia, Greece, Asia Minor, established the most intimate connexion with the people, who spoke the Greek language. The military ferocity of the Romans was softened by the songs of the muses; haughty Latium received its education from the conquered; and Greek civilization, modified freely by the Roman character, bloomed upon the Gallic, and, later, upon the British soil.¹

CHAPTER XLI.

UNION OF THE GREEK STATES.

*Language—Religion—Amphictyonic Council—Olympic Games—
Influence of Homer—Oracles.*

IN the absence of any strong political bond, the Greeks still considered themselves as one nation, and bound to each other by a similarity of language,² of government, and religion. In the first place, the various Greek states spoke one and the same *language*, which, though split into different dialects, was marvellously rich in its stores; and, like the modern German, was susceptible of combinations to an indefinite extent. The different dialects, far from marring the unity of their national literature, contributed to its

¹ Rotteck, ii. 169, 415, 416.

² Homer's appellations, Argives, Danaans, in themselves, indeed, designate but individual parts of one, but are employed in reference to the whole body (*Strabo*, 8. 340). Homer likewise gives them a common language, the same gods, a similar government and character. But *political* unity by no means follows; uniformity of language never prevented national races from being politically strange, and even hostile to each other. *Wachsmuth*, vol. i. p. 141.

copiousness; it gave a freshness and an originality to the poetry of the different states, but allowed the riches of all to be transfused into each. "It is true," observes a modern writer, "that, from the mode in which the ravages of time have operated, the relics of Ionic and Attic literature are by so much the most considerable, as to throw the rest into the shade; yet the Æolic and Dorian branches, to judge even from the fragments we possess, maintained an equal elevation, until the culminating star of Athenian genius usurped the sky."

Similar to the unity of their language, was also the unity of their *religion*. In the religion of the Greeks we everywhere observe traces of a fine poetical feeling. In the *Theogony* of Hesiod, we see that the earliest deities of Greece were the representations of some material objects, as the sun, the moon, the ocean, or the atmosphere. Plato bears testimony in his "Cratylus" to the elementary worship of the Pelasgi.¹ But what a transition is there from the brutish and cumbersome deities of the East, to the "lofty thunderer" of Homer, shaking his ambrosial locks and making Olympus tremble at his nod! Wherever Jupiter, Juno, Neptune, and Apollo may have first been worshipped, no country but Greece adored the Olympian ruler of the world, the queen of heaven, the power which encompassed the universe, and the far-darting god of light.² The gods of the Greeks do not approximate to man merely in their external form, but also

¹ The Homeric gods swear by heaven and earth; the elements are invoked in contracts. At a very early period the worship of the *earth* prevailed at Athens (*Pind.*), in Laconia, Elis, &c. By the acute researches of many learned men (*Creuzer, von Hammer, Böttiger, &c.*), it has now been undeniably proved that the Pelasgi, like the Asiatics, had a *symbolical religious doctrine emanating from the priests*, which survived to succeeding times under the form of oracles and mysteries. Though a distinct *sacerdotal caste*, and their secret doctrines could not co-exist with republican institutions, yet individual families preserved their existence, as the *Selli* at Dodona, the *Eumolpidae* at Athens, the *Clytiadae* in Elis. The principal seats of the mysteries were, 1. *Crete*, 2. *Samothrace*, 3. *Southern Thrace*, 4. *Eleusis*, where they maintained themselves as a perfectly organized state-establishment. *Kriebel*. *Lobeck* in his *Aglaophamus*, is the great antagonist of the symbolical doctrine. ² *Heeren*.

in their feelings and passions. They are certainly represented as superior to men in intellectual and physical energy; but they are also represented as loving, hating, fearing, and susceptible of pleasure, corporeal as well as mental. "Hesiod and Homer," says the father of history, "whom I do not esteem more than 400 years earlier than myself, are the poets who *invented* for the Grecians their Theogony—gave the gods their titles, fixed their rank and their occupations, and described their forms."¹

Hence the religion of the Greeks was essentially and fundamentally of a popular character, and was totally and entirely designed for the public amusement and gratification. During the celebration of the festivals at Athens, the shops and courts of justice were shut; the mechanic quitted his tools, the husbandman ceased from his labours, the mourner intermitted his sorrow. The whole city was dissolved in feasting and jollity, the intervals of which were filled up by pompous shows and processions, by concerts of music, by exhibitions of paintings, and, at several festivals, particularly the Panathenaic, by hearing and judging the noblest productions of eloquence and poetry.² Dicaearchus assures us that there was no country in the world where a person might live more agreeably than at Athens, whether he had money or had nothing. "Riches," says he, "might procure all imaginable enjoyments; and, on the other hand, there were so many pageants, so many festivals, so many games, and so many amusements, that indigent citizens thought of any thing but their poverty."³

Thus the pagan religion was a system of show and parade, of festivals and ceremonies, and, as such, singularly

¹ *Herod.* ii. 53. "The facial angle in the human subject varies from 65° to 85°; but the Greeks, in their representations of the Deity, have extended it to 100°. Hence the ancient model of beauty does not exist in nature, but is a thing of imaginary creation; it is what Wincklemann calls the *beau idéal*."—*Lawrence*. The facial angle in poets, sages, legislators, was generally extended to 90°.

² *Isocrates, Panegyric and Panathen.*—*Gillies*.

³ *Pauw's Recherches Philosophiques sur les Grecs*, i. p. 216.

adapted to take a powerful hold of the popular mind. Addressing itself exclusively to the senses and the imagination, it was acquiesced in without inquiry, and maintained without persecution. We know how much it pervaded public and private life; how favourably it reacted upon poetry, of which it was the theme; what materials it supplied to the artist; and how well adapted it was to keep men in a state of perpetual enchantment who lived in a world of gods and heroes. The priests did not form a distinct *caste*, as in Egypt; they were not the teachers of the people and the educators of youth; their power was not consolidated by a species of hereditary union, and they had no monopoly of knowledge. Yet, elevating as religion might be to the feelings, favourable as it might be to freedom of thought, and stimulating as it might be to the energies, it was an impediment to philosophy, and barren as to morals. "Though we do not sigh for the return of Grecian civilization," observes a modern writer, "yet we can rejoice that humanity ever assumed the phasis, the character that it assumed in Greece."¹

Amongst the causes that contributed to diffuse a common feeling of nationality amongst the Greeks, we must not forget the *Amphictyonic council*. The Greek tribes, by reason of their inability to erect temples for individual use, combined for the purpose of erecting temples which might be common to all, and protecting them against sacrilege or invasion. The affairs of the temple would, of course, be conducted under the inspection of a committee, consisting of envoys from the different tribes, delegated for that purpose. This committee was termed the Amphictyonic council.² The rise of the Amphictyonic councils must be

¹ *Rotteck*, ii. 413. *Encyc. Brit. Art. ATTICA, ANTIQUITIES.*

² 'Αμφικτιόνες, or "Dwellers round" (οἱ κύκλῳ πάντες, *Strab.* 14, 659). Compare *περικτιόνες*, *περίοικου*. Some writers, with less probability, derive the name from Amphictyon, a son of Deucalion.—See *Hermann*, p. 25. Thus we have an Amphictyonic council at Calauria, near Troezen (temple of *Neptune*); at Onchestus in Bœotia

referred to a period when the *tribe* took precedence of the *town*, and the right to a share in it was based upon the principle of races. But when the cities became more wealthy, and built temples of their own, the functions of the Amphictyonic councils would cease of themselves. They are therefore mentioned by later writers merely as "antiquities," with the exception of the Amphictyonic council, which met at Delphi at the time of the vernal, and at Thermopylæ at the time of the autumnal equinox,¹ and rose to great importance. According to Æschines, the number of states which sent delegates amounted to twelve. The oath which was administered to the members of the council, attaches the heaviest imprecations to those who, in violation of their oaths, should destroy any of the Amphictyonic cities, or cut off their streams either in war or peace. "The real object of the Amphictyonic league might be," says Hermann, "to diminish the rancour, and the evil consequences of disputes between neighbouring states; and though it exercised no special control over the internal affairs of the confederate states, it occasionally proved the tool of the most powerful, as in the case of Lacedæmon after the battle of Platææ,² of Thebes against Lacedæmon and Phocis

(*Neptune*); that of the Achæans at Ægium (*Ceres*); the Ætolians at Thermus (*Apollo*); another at Argos (*Pythian Apollo*) for the Argives, Epidaurians, and Dryopes; and at Delos for the Cyclades. So again the Æolians at Cyme, the Ionians at Ephesus (*Diana*) and the promontory of Mycale (the *Heliconian Neptune*); the Dorians at Triopium (*Apollo*). The Amphictyonic council at Delphi included, 1. *Thessalians*; 2. *Bæotians*; 3. *Dorians*; 4. *Ionians* (i. e. Athens, Chalcis in Eubœa, and a portion of the Ionians in Asia Minor); 5. *Perrhæbians*; 6. *Magnetes*; 7. *Locrians*; 8. *Ænians* (about Ceta); 9. *Phthiotæ*; 10. *Mali*; 11. *Phocians*; 12. *Delphians*.

¹ But see Heeren, p. 119; Böckh. *Inscr.* i. p. 808. Some have supposed that political objects were connected with the Amphictyonic council. "Its efficacy, however, in this respect, was not, at any time, very considerable; and when Athens contended with Sparta for the ascendancy, the council was almost wholly limited to its original purposes." Kriebel. It originated, however, the Sacred War, which was so fatal to Greece. The greater part of its members fought for Xerxes.

² *Plut. Them.* 20.

(p. 325), &c. The Amphictyonic league does not appear ever to have acted as a defensive alliance against foreign power."¹ The council consisted of deputies of two descriptions, *Pylagoræ* and *Hieromnemes*; but only the former seem to have had a decisive voice.²

In enumerating the various ties of nationality among the Greeks, the *periodical games* and festal assemblies³ which administered such an impetus to the enthusiasm and ambition of the Greeks are deserving of notice. The Greeks in general possessed the talent of enlivening existence with the song and the dance; and as this rendered the Grecian *symposia* so brilliant and intellectual, it was owing to the same cause that their popular festivals, on a more extended scale, presented so many features of attraction.⁴ The Pythian games were celebrated at Delphi; the Nemean at Argos; the Isthmian at Corinth; but the Olympic were by far the most distinguished. All the Greeks were looked upon as members of the festival. Foreigners could be spectators; but Greeks alone were permitted to contend for the prizes. This right belonged to the inhabitants of the farthest colony, as well as of the mother country, and was esteemed inalienable and invaluable. Even princes were proud of the privilege, for which the Persian king himself would have sued in vain, of sending their chariots to the races of Olympia. The victors at the Olympic games entered their native cities by a breach made in the walls, and ever after claimed the right of being maintained at the public expence in the Prytaneum. "They are justly praised," says Isocrates, "who instituted these famous assemblies, and thus made it customary for us to come together as allies, having set aside

¹ P. 28 and notes.

² The *Ecclesia* was not complete until they had convoked also τοὺς συνθύοντας καὶ χρωμένους τῷ θεῷ (*Æsch. Adv. Ctes.*), or the body of the citizens from the various states. Among the Dorians, any person in office was called *μνάμων*. The *ιερομνήμονες* are sometimes called *σύεδροι*. Each state, or tribe, had an equal vote (*ισοψηφία*).

³ Πανηγύρεις.

⁴ See *Wachsmuth*, vol. i. p. 155.

our hostilities,¹ to increase our friendships by recalling our relationship in our common vows and sacrifices; to renew our ancient family friendships, and form new ones."²

"By the institution of musical and literary contests at these games," says the same writer, "they have provided, that neither the unpolished nor the well-educated should leave the games without profit." Here, in the midst of the assembled states of Greece, Herodotus read the most interesting passages of his history—Gorgias and Isocrates recited their orations—Euripides contended for the prize with his competitors of the tragic muse—and here the sublime odes of Pindar were chaunted in honour of the victors. The Persian Tigranes, when observing the small value of the badges of distinction, (crowns of laurel, &c.) conferred upon the victors, would have dissuaded his master from going to war with a people who, insensible to interest, fought only

¹ During the games a general cessation of hostilities (*ἐκεχειρία*) was proclaimed by the Eleans (*σπονδοφόροι Ἑλεῖοι*.—*Thuc.* v. 50). The games also afforded opportunities for trade and commerce. Hence the expressions *ἀγορά πολλαῖκη*, *mercatus Olympiacus*, ἡ πανήγυρις ἱμφορικὸν πρᾶγμα.—*Strab.* x. p. 744. In considering the character of these institutions, it must not be overlooked that they were founded by the two exterminators of the *ἄξενοι*, or marauders, namely *Theseus* and *Hercules*.

² *Panegy.* p. 49. *Steph.* The games, when considered *per se*, will not admit of much commendation. No ancient physician has spoken favourably of, and Galen has expressly condemned, both the regimen and the preparatory discipline of the *Athletæ*. If muscular power be developed in any particular part of the body (as in the case of runners, wrestlers, boxers), through the violent and continuous exercise of that part, there must be a corresponding diminution of it in others. In the *discoboli* or throwers of the *quoit*, the arm alone would become strong and muscular; whilst those who contended in the *pancratium* (πᾶν κράτος, a compound of wrestling, boxing, biting, &c.), were liable to suffer so severely, that they might be supposed to have escaped out of the paws of a lion or tiger. The breeding and rearing of horses for the Olympic games was ruinously expensive; and the scene of chariot-breaking, at the turning of the goal (*meta*), has been compared by one of the poets to a "shipwreck on land."—See *Paus.'s Rech. Philos.* tom. i. The Athenians were accustomed to estimate the nobility of a family by the number of horses which it kept for the Olympic games.—*Dr. Blomfield (Prom. Vincit.* 475). *Dr. Major's Guide to the Greek Tragedians*, p. 156.

for glory.¹ The beautiful definition of philosophy which the Olympic games suggested to the contemplative mind of Pythagoras may here be cited. When asked what he meant by the new appellation of philosopher, which he had assumed in preference to that of *sophos*, he replied, "That, in the same manner as at the Olympic assembly, some men came to contend for crowns and honours, others to sell their merchandise, and a third class merely to see and examine; so, on the greater theatre of the world, while many struggled for the glory of a name, and many for the advantages of fortune, a few, and but a few, neither covetous of money, nor ambitious of fame, were contented with beholding the wonders of so magnificent a spectacle."²

Hence we may account for the preservation of a national literature amongst the Greeks; and what stronger bond could be devised, for the purpose of connecting together the sympathies of kindred states? Amongst national benefactors of this class, the first rank must undoubtedly be given to *Homer*. Poets, orators, historians, and legislators have all paid homage to his transcendent genius. His influence upon the character of his countrymen will be more distinctly conceived, when we glance at the state of society during this period. The banquets of the heroes were always graced with the presence of bards,³ who professed to derive their inspiration from Jove. They were accompanied with a harp, and we "hear their strains in the island of the Phæacians, no less than in the dwellings of Ulysses and Menelaus." But when Homer appeared, a class of bards arose, known by the name of Homeridæ, who confined themselves to the singing of the Homeric poems, a practice which became universal among the later rhapsodists.⁴

¹ *Herod.* viii. c. 26.

² *Cic. Tusc. Quæst.* v. 3.

³ *Ἀοιδοί.*

⁴ The title of *Cyclic poets* (κύκλος) was conferred upon those who worked up into separate poems, what had been cursorily or incidentally mentioned by Homer, such as the battles of the Titans and Giants—the adventures of the heroes on their return from Troy (νόστοι), *Minyas*, *Theseis*, *Thebais*, *Oidipodia*, &c. Hence the subjects are chiefly mythical.

The practice did not disappear with the heroic age. Though the rhapsodists might no longer be seen at the halls and banquets of kings, yet their professional assistance was still in request. And that professional assistance was by no means contemptible, if we may judge from what Ion the rhapsodist says to Socrates:¹ "I see the hearers now weep, and now rise in passion, and appear as if deprived of sensation." It was owing to Homer that Greece, torn and dismembered as it was, still acquired strength and elevation in the ever vivid remembrance of the glorious past. Every tribe found in him its root, and all their brotherhood. "It was Homer," says Heeren, "who formed the character of the Greek nation." Prophets, lawgivers, and sages, have formed the characters of other nations; but it was reserved for a poet to form that of the Greeks. If it is granted to his immortal spirit from any other heaven, than any of

¹ *Plato*, vol. iv. p. 190. "The intimate connection of music with poetry is attested and illustrated by the fact, that the same words signified a song and a poem, a musician and a poet, *ψῳδοί, ἀσμῳδοί*; *ψῳδοί, ψῳδοί, ἀσμῳδοί* (*Hesych.*). And as the use of prose composition was not known till the time of Pherecydes of Syros, and Cadmus of Miletus, the name of music naturally comprehended all the learning of the age."—*Gillies*, see *infra*. The bards, though called "*ῥῳδοί*", as being of the first rank in society, were exempted from the fatigues of war (*Hom. Od.*), but afterwards this exemption was withdrawn.

² Homer must have existed in Ionia. Is he not Ionic? Does not the condition of Ionia exactly correspond with the character and temperament of the bard? Were not the Ionians energetic, and of a mobile imagination? Pious they were towards the gods; yet their religion was of a joyous character, and far removed from gloomy anxiety. Compare the condition of Ionia at this period, with the distracted state of Greece. It was therefore in Ionia alone that the Trojan traditions, which the connection of the Æolians with the heroes of those traditions had preserved in living remembrance, could ripen into everlasting poems. During that century, to which we may most reasonably ascribe the date of the Homeric writings (900 B. C.), may not all the grand features of Achæan Greece, as described by Homer, be traced in the cities of Ionia and Æolia, whilst throughout Greece there existed only the ruins of that magnificence under which no poetry could flourish, excepting that of Hesiod? Before the time of Homer there had existed no poetry which exerted an equal influence over the whole of Greece.—See *Allgem. Lit. Zeit.* No. 155, 1833.

which he dreamed upon earth, to look down on his race, to see the nations, from the fields of Asia to the forests of Hercynia, performing pilgrimages to the fountain which his magic wand caused to flow; if it is permitted to him to view the vast assemblage of grand, of elevated, of glorious productions which have been called into existence by means of his songs; wherever his immortal spirit may reside, this alone would suffice to complete his happiness."¹

Amongst the bonds of national union which connected the Greek states together, we must not forget the oracles, particularly those of Dodona and Delphi. We have already remarked, that the oracle of Dodona was the national oracle of the Pelasgi. Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, appears to have been the last who consulted it on the subject of the Tarentine war; and the ambiguous answer² which he received, contributed not a little towards the undertaking of that ill-fated expedition. The oracle at Delphi was the national oracle of the Hellenes.

The Greeks never undertook any war, or founded any colony, without consulting the oracle; and its sanction was obtained by Lycurgus and Solon to their respective systems of legislation. As the oracles were doubtless made use of as state-engines, we may remark, that the policy which they recommended was generally pacific, and calculated to mitigate the animosities, and reconcile the differences, by which the Greeks were ever distracted. When the reciprocal hatred of the Athenians and Spartans excited them to the fury of civil war, how much suffering would have been spared to Greece, if the voice of the gods had been able to avert the storm! But the affairs of the Delphian temple were still considered as the concern of the Grecian nation; and even after infidelity had usurped the place of the ancient superstition, the violation of that sanctuary gave

¹ Sketch of the Political History of Greece, pp. 100, 101.

² Aio te, *Æacida*, Romanos vincere posse.—*Cf. Herod.* v. 89,

the politicians a pretence to kindle a civil war which was destined to cost Greece its liberties.¹

CHAPTER XLII.

CONSTITUTIONS OF THE GREEK STATES, ETC.

Republican Spirit—Education—Rights of Citizenship—Popular Assembly—Senate—Magistrates—Judiciary Institutions—Slaves—The Demos—Coinage—Commerce—Expenditure—Mercenaries—Army and Navy, &c.—Sources of Revenue.

IN the present chapter, we propose to take a general view of the constitutions of the different states of Greece, directing our attention principally to that of Athens. "There were few states," says Heeren, "which possessed a larger territory than formerly belonged to Ulm and Nuremberg; but in Greece, as in Germany, the prosperity of the city did not depend upon the extent of its territory. Corinth hardly possessed a larger territory than that of Augsburg; and yet both rose to a high pitch of wealth and civilization."² State and city were considered as synonymous among the Greeks, for states were nothing more than cities with their districts, and the *πολιτεία* or constitutions of these states were, as the name implies, nothing more than forms of city-government.³

¹ Cf. Heeren's *Greece*, pp. 108—111.

² *Political Sketch*, p. 136.

³ See p. 123, note. "That the Greeks were anxious about preserving the 'balance of power' amongst the several states, was particularly manifested in the famous league against the rising power of Athens, which produced the Peloponnesian war. When Thebes and Sparta contended for the ascendancy, Athens always threw her weight into the lighter scale. The orations of Demosthenes, and particularly that for the Megalopolitans, display very clear views of this branch of policy; and an attention to it, in the contests which arose among the successors of Alexander, preserved distinct, for several ages, the partitions made after the death of that conqueror."—*Encyc. Britan. Art.*

The inhabitants of the country, occupied in the cultivation of the soil, formed a lower class, under the title of *Periæci*, "dwellers around the city." In states of such limited extent, every man was immediately interested in political matters, and popular feeling became proportionally vigorous and influential. The Greeks refused to acknowledge any power which was not derived in one way or other expressly from the people; and all who claimed or usurped such power were considered as tyrants and enemies of the state.

Again, if it be desirable for the well-working of the government that the citizens should be "good and honourable," then is it desirable that they should be educated in such a manner as to be able to support that character. Thus civil legislation extended itself over the citizens in their moral as well as their political capacities—committing encroachments, according to our ideas, upon the most sacred rights of persons, upon domestic privileges and private relations. Hence the Greek writers considered education as the business of the state; for laws avail but little if they be not supported by the intelligence and virtue of the citizens. We see this view enforced in the introduction of Xenophon to his "*Cyropædia*," in the imaginary "Republic" of Plato, and the more logical and practical works of Aristotle. The object of this system was, a general cultivation of the mind by literature, combined with moral discipline; the honourable¹ was to be learned rather than the useful and necessary.

Though no capacity, whether physical or mental, was permitted to remain undeveloped, yet there was no prescribed form for its development. Every citizen, every community, was independent; and from the diversified mixture of individual

BALANCE OF POWER; *Hume's Essays*, vol. i. The speech for the "people of Megalopolis" was delivered 353 B. C. to induce the Athenians to send succours to the Megalopolitans against the Spartans.

¹ Καλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοί. At *Athens* domestic education was conducted under the inspection of the magistrates; at *Sparta* education was entirely public, and the state assumed the paternal authority (p. 125).

² Καλόν.

and popular character, there arose a *general character*, active, multiform, displaying a proud feeling of self-dependence, and that glorious spirit of emulation which is so essential to perfection."¹ The Greek writers, however, were acute enough to see into the folly of pursuing any exclusive system of education for the purpose of attaining some imaginary object. Aristotle justly objects to the education of any state being exclusively military; for such a policy would employ its military resources only to the exclusion of its other materials of happiness. He particularly points out this in the instance of Lacedæmon, whose whole policy was framed for war; whereas, as he observes, a state should be adapted for living well in peace, and enjoying that repose which is the end of its engaging in war.²

The policy of Athens was more liberal than that of any other Greek state, with respect to conferring political privileges, and admitting individuals to the rights of citizenship. We are not aware that there were any circumstances such as poverty, &c. which could prevent a citizen at Athens from exercising his political functions. War and other casualties frequently rendered it necessary to keep up the number of citizens, by admitting a portion of the resident aliens,³ the *Periæci*, or even slaves; and in the colonies, emigrants from the mother-country were divided into tribes, classed according to their different dates of arrival, and taking precedence accordingly.⁴ The basis of Athenian

¹ See *Rotteck*, ii. p. 411. Sparta was an exception.

² (*Pol.* ii. c. 9; vii. c. 14). See *Encyc. Brit.* ART. ARISTOTLE. Under the general title of *music* (*μουσική*) the Greeks comprehended instruction in the sciences, and in the whole range of the acquirements and capabilities of the human understanding. It is this comprehensive meaning, including even rhetoric and grammar, which we must attach to the word, when Plutarch and other ancient writers recommend music as the most prominent department of education, and ascribe to it such powerful influence over the heart and affections, which could in no wise belong to the mere playing of instruments, and the less so, as these were accompanied, among the Greeks, with poetry, singing, declamation, and gesticulation.—See *Eschenburg's Handbuch*, p. 32.

³ *Μέτοικοι*. ⁴ *Ἀποικοί*, the "original colonist," as distinguished from *ἐποίκοις*, or "new comer."

citizenship was equality,¹ not an absolute equality, but an equality with regard to merits and services,² being intended to exclude the political pre-eminence of individuals, rather than endow all with equal privileges. In Athens, too, there was no distinction of privileges between the inhabitants of the capital and the inhabitants of the villages³ and surrounding district. Further, the citizens were classed according to the tribe⁴ to which they belonged, and the borough or ward⁵ in which they resided; and these distinctions were also attached to the name of the individual citizen—a practice very necessary where family-names were not in use.⁶ The privileges of citizenship may be thus stated; 1. The right of pleading before public tribunals. 2. That of possessing landed property, whereas the alien could only be a tenant. 3. The right of bearing arms. 4. The right of taking part in the popular assemblies.

Such then was the 'fierce democracy' of Athens, that constituted the public assemblies.⁷ There were forty regular assemblies⁸ held in the course of the year;⁹ and ten may be

¹ τὸ ἴσον.

² ἰσότης κατ' ἀξίαν.

³ See, however, *Wachsmuth*, vol. i. p. 240. The Athenian citizen is defined by Sigonius, "publicorum consiliorum, judiciorum, magistratuumque particeps."—*De Rep. Ath.* i. 5. p. 484. i. e. one who could vote in the public assemblies, could act as jurymen or dicast, and fill public offices. On the φιλανθρωπία and φιλοξενία of the Athenians, in contrast with the Lacedæmonian ξενηλασία, or aversion to foreigners, see p. 201, note. The μέτοικος differs from ξένος, in being resident. Individual foreigners, or states, might attain rights by special favour, as the rights of intermarriage (ἐπιγαμία), the possession of houses and lands (ἐγκτησις), exemption from taxation (ἀτέλεια), &c.

⁴ Φυλή.

⁵ Δῆμος.

⁶ The treatises of the ancients themselves on their manners, institutions, and governments, are, it is true, with the exception of a few fragments (of *Aristotle* and *Heracleides Ponticus*), wholly lost; but independently of the historians and orators, who form in their absence our chief authority, there is scarcely a writer of the better period of Greek literature, but contains numerous allusions to the public life of his times, not to mention the materials drawn from earlier compilers, which still exist in the works of the scholiasts, and of the lexicographers, *Pollux*, *Harporation*, *Hesychius*, *Suidas*, and others.—See *Hermann*, p. 5.

⁷ Ἐκκλησίαι.

⁸ Κυρίαὶ ἐκκλησίαι.

⁹ i. e. Four were held during the presidency of every *prytancia*, or term of thirty-five days.

considered as the average amount of those extraordinary assemblies¹ convened upon particular occasions. The citizen, when he had attained his eighteenth year, asserted his right of speaking in the popular assembly; hence he was denominated *rhetor*,² by way of distinction from the *idiotes*, or silent member of the assembly. The number of citizens generally attending these assemblies probably varied from 5 to 8,000; for the narrow extent of the Grecian states rendered it possible for all citizens to attend who were not serving abroad or engaged in foreign traffic. The practice of paying those who attended (*ekklesiasts*),³ was introduced during the time of Pericles. The sum was three oboli for each attendance, which could act as an inducement only upon the poorer class; hence Aristotle recommends that a fine should be imposed upon the rich, in case of non-attendance, in order to produce a salutary mixture of both classes.

The subjects belonging to the popular assemblies, are divided into three classes. The *first* embraces legislation, for what the Greeks called a law, was always a decree passed or confirmed by the commons;⁴ the *second* embraces the choice of magistrates; and the *third* comprehends the subjects laid before the popular courts of justice.⁵ Hence democracy is equal to *Isonomia*,⁶ inasmuch as it forbids the usurpation of power on the part of individuals or a class. Herodotus

¹ Σύγκλητοι ἐκκλησίαι.

² *Phot.* and *Suid.* Subsequently the term denoted *sophists*.

³ Aristophanes in his *Ἐκκλησιάζουσαι*, or *females met in assembly*, directs his satire against the demagogues. The *females*, having, by a stratagem, got possession of the reins of government, pass some absurd laws, which are a parody on those in existence at Athens. Aristophanes deprecates the frequent meetings of the popular assembly (l. 183), which was a consequence of their salary being raised by Agyrrhius, from one to three *oboli*; the foolish manner in which they conducted themselves; their indulgence in abuse (l. 142); their love of innovation; subserviency to the demagogues. Yet he declares that, according to an ancient saying, they were accustomed to see all their foolish decrees turn out well (l. 473, seqq.).—Compare *Wachsmuth*, vol. ii. p. 220.

⁴ Νόμος.

⁵ See *Heeren*, p. 144. *Arist. Pol.* iv. 14.

⁶ Equality of rights.

entitles it the most admirable of constitutions, and describes as its characteristics, that the authorities were appointed by lot—were required to give an account of their conduct—and that every matter for deliberation was submitted to the general body of the people; for, he adds, “everything is contained in the mass.”¹ Connected with this was the right of a free expression of opinion² in all matters affecting the state.

The Athenian βουλή or senate³ sat every day in the year, except the public holidays. It prepared questions in debate for the popular assembly, and carried its decrees into execution. Candidates for the office of senator were subject to the most severe scrutiny;⁴ the duration of office was limited to a year. This assembly is very frequently termed the “five hundred,” or “senate of five hundred;” and the wages of each senator⁵ amounted to a drachma for each day the senate assembled. When a matter was approved by the senate, and digested into proper form, it became a bill,⁶ and, being written on a tablet, was exposed for public perusal.

At the next assembly it was read to the people, after which the question was asked by the public crier, “Who of those above fifty years of age chooses⁷ to speak?” When these had delivered their sentiments, the crier again proclaimed, “Any Athenian, not disqualified by law, may now speak.”⁸ The circumstances, absolutely disqualifying, were

¹ See the speech of Otanes, 3. 80. *Wachsmuth*, vol. ii. pp. 26, 27.

² Ἱσηγορία at Athens—ἰσολογία among the other states—frequently termed παρρησία, or “liberty of speech,” by the Attic orators. In the oligarchical states, oratory was generally prohibited by the magistrates.—See *Plut. de Virtut. Eth.* 7. 759.

³ The γερουσία, or γερωνία of some other cities, was analogous to the Athenian βουλή, but had no periodical change of its members. The term bears reference to the mature age of its members. Among the Malians, the veterans (ὠπλιτευκότες, *emeriti*) formed the council, whilst those in active service held the offices. Βουλή, in Homer, signifies the council of the nobles.—*Il.* ii. 53.

⁴ Δοκιμασία.

⁵ Μισθός βουλευτικός.

⁶ Προβούλευμα.

⁷ This was enacted by a law of Solon; but it fell into disuse during the turbulent period of the Athenian democracy.—See *Schömann de Comit. Athen.* 105.

⁸ We have seen that the constitutions of the heroic ages were more

flight in battle, a large amount of debt to the commonwealth, and conviction of a crime tainting the individual with infamy. The suffrages were taken by a show of hands, but, in particular cases, by casting pebbles into vessels prepared for the purpose.¹ During the decline of the republic, the permanent laws were in a great measure superseded by decrees or popular resolutions,² passed in order to suit the caprice of the moment. In the early periods of Grecian history, the laws were conveyed to the minds of the people in forms of poetry and music; hence the beautiful combination of ideas in the word *mode* or *measure*, as applied to music and morals, was expressed by the words *nomos* and *nomodos*.³

It would, perhaps, be difficult to define who are to be considered as magistrates.⁴ "Originally," says Boeckh, "there was an important distinction between service⁵ and an office of government;⁶ the former received a salary, the latter none." As the care of conducting expensive public works required considerable wealth; the command in war, eminent personal endowments; and the priesthood, immaculate nobility, and, in part, such as was inherent in certain families; hence it may be assumed, that within the circle of the nobility a scrutiny⁷ very soon began to precede election.⁸ Though appointment by lot prevailed to a great extent—yet all offices requiring superior intelligence and experience

or less of a popular character; hence eloquence was as necessary at that as at a later period:

Μυθῶν τε ῥητῆρ' ἔμεναι πρηνεκέρα τε ἔργων.—*Hom.*

The popular assemblies were in a state of complete dependence upon the orators; and the malediction pronounced against the corrupt orator, in addition to the legal penalty he incurred (*Demarch. in Aristagor.* 89), strongly illustrates the necessity that existed for rigorous checks on their dishonesty.—Compare *Wachsmuth*, vol. ii. pp. 196, 197.

¹ See *Mitford's Hist. of Greece*, vol. i. p. 871, seqq.

² Ψηφίσματα.

³ Νομῶδες.—See *Wachsmuth*, vol. i. p. 309.

⁴ Ἀρχαί, τέλη, οἱ ἐν τῷ τῷ, τιμαί.

⁵ Ὑπηρέσια.

⁶ Ἀρχή.

⁷ Δοκιμασία.

⁸ See *Wachsmuth*, vol. i. p. 284. The word *εὐθύνη* expresses the opposition to *σκόλῃαι θέμιστες*, the perversion of justice, 'crooked courses.'—*Ibid.* p. 286, note.

(commanders, strategi, taxiarchs, ambassadors, &c.) were filled by election. All magistrates were responsible to the people; and a board of examiners¹ was appointed for the purpose of passing the accounts of all public officers. Though all citizens might aspire to state-offices; yet, from the burdens connected with them, and the disinclination of the lower orders to place confidence in members of their own body, they devolved almost entirely upon the wealthier classes. The inferior citizen would concede this point the more readily, as the actions of the magistrates were still liable to be scanned by himself in his judicial capacity. This, of course, had its disadvantages, when a *demagogue*,² devoid himself of political responsibility, endeavoured, under semblance of zeal for the public welfare, to embitter the feelings of the people against the constituted authorities by an unfair criticism of their conduct.

No person, who had any share in the government, was exempted from this responsibility; the senate of Five hundred, the Areopagus, were bound to render an account. The priests and priestesses were obliged to render an account of their gifts;³ and even the Trierarchy, though they furnished everything at their own expense. No person, who had not rendered his account, could go abroad, consecrate his property to a god, make a will, or be adopted from one family into another. In the same manner, no honorary gift or reward (as a crown for instance) could be awarded to a person who had not passed his scrutiny.⁴ This matter is well illustrated in the speeches of Demosthenes and Æschines, relative to the *Crown*. Æschines charges Ctesiphon with having violated the laws, in proposing to crown a public

¹ Εἰσέτινοι, λογισταί.

² The word was originally used in a good or rather neutral sense.—Compare *Aristoph. Equit.* 191, &c. The system attained its zenith in the course of the Peloponnesian war; and the name increased in odium. It is a matter of doubt whether *προσάρτης τοῦ δήμου* was equivalent to “demagogue,” or the name of a regular functionary.

³ Γέρα.

⁴ Ἀνετίθνητος.—Böckh's *Public Economy of Athens*, vol. i. pp. 253, 254.

functionary before the latter had given an account of the manner in which he had discharged his office.¹—No magistrate could retain office beyond the appointed time, or hold two offices together, or the same twice.

At Athens, the principle was fully recognized, that every man should be tried by his peers; for equality of rights² was the peculiar boast of the Greeks³. About 6000, or nearly one-third of the citizens, were regularly appointed every year to take part in the administration of justice. In order to save the inhabitants of the country trouble and expense in cases of inferior importance, itinerant judges—"The Forty"—were appointed to make regular circuits through the towns or boroughs of Attica. The causes of the greater part of the allies, at least those who had been reduced to the class of subjects,⁴ were tried at Athens;⁵ an oppressive regulation, but too profitable to be given up. The custom of paying the *dicasts*, or juries, was first introduced during the time of Pericles. The wages, as Aristotle informs us, varied at different periods—"the demagogues flattering the populace."⁶ Nothing excited greater exasperation among the allies, than the degradation of pleading before Athenian tribunals—the expenses incurred by the process, and the necessary accumulation of causes which the Athenian tribunals could not dispose of.⁷

The orator, during his speech, had a reader⁸ at his side, with a copy of the laws. Whenever he referred to any law, it was read aloud, as is proved by a multitude of examples

¹ The office to which Æschines alludes, was a commission to repair the fortifications of Athens.

² ἰσωνομία.

³ Hence ἰσωνομία became synonymous with democracy.

⁴ Ὑπήκοοι.

⁵ The rest had their own local tribunals, and their own local jurisdiction (αὐτονόμοι). The *Wasps* of Aristophanes (Σφήκες), is a satire against the corruption of justice and the mania of litigation, being levelled against the numerous class of *dicasts*, or *jurymen*, whom he represents "sitting muffled like sheep," and receiving three *oboli* a day.

⁶ *Pol.* iv. 4.

⁷ Γραμματεὺς.

⁸ See *Xen. Rep. Ath.* ii. 16—18.

in Demosthenes and others. Every thing, however, was transacted orally. The judges were not obliged to peruse written documents; they listened, and gave their votes.¹

Wherever public functionaries are responsible to the people to the same extent as at Athens, public accusations must be numerous; and the very safeguards of public liberty may be converted into the vilest of despotisms. The ancients seem to have regarded the sycophantic tribe as a necessary evil in a democracy; they filled the same place in the courts of law, as the demagogues did in the public assembly. As similar judiciary institutions prevailed in many other parts of Greece, we may easily conceive how intimately they would be connected with the internal revolutions, which the relative strength of contending parties might give rise to. Aristotle, in allusion to the etymology of *sycophancy*,² and its prevalence at Athens, compares it to the perpetual fruitage of the gardens of Alcinoüs. Having been charged with introducing doctrines adverse to the religion of Greece, he made his escape to Chalcis, alleging to his friends, in allusion to the death of Socrates, "that he was unwilling to involve the Athenians in a second crime against philosophy."

In turning our attention to the economical condition of Athens, we must remark the great preponderance of slaves, in point of numbers, over the free population. The slaves amounted to three hundred and sixty-five thousand, whilst

¹ Heeren, p. 187. In Homer, we see that the princes very frequently sat as judges; for "the king," says Aristotle, "was both general and judge, and also had authority over what pertained to the gods" (Pol. iii. 14.) Sometimes, as in the description of the shield of Achilles, we perceive the administration of justice committed to an assembly of elders (Il. xviii. 504); hence these *δικασπόλοι* are represented as holding in their hands the sceptre—*σκήπτρον ἐν παλάμαις φορέονσι δικασπόλοι* (238).

² *Σύκον*, a fig:—

Ὅχνη ἐπ' ὄχνη γηράσκει, σύκον δ' ἐπὶ σύκῳ.—Hom. Od.

The reason of *συκοφάντης* being applied to a false calumniator, is thus explained. A scarcity of figs having once occurred at Athens, their exportation was prohibited. This generated a host of informers (*συκοφάνται*). See Schleusner, *sub voce*.

the free citizens only amounted to ninety-thousand (or one-fourth), to which may be added about forty-five thousand, as the number of resident aliens. The slave-trade was exclusively directed to the barbarians; for it was an invariable usage in Grecian warfare to deliver up Greek prisoners for a ransom. All employments committed to slaves were looked upon as unfit for the free citizen. The labours of the servile class, by exonerating the citizen from a care for the common necessities of life, enabled him to pay undivided attention to the cultivation of his physical and mental powers, and the discharge of his civil duties. Hence arose the distinction between the liberal arts and the illiberal. This, too, is the reason why the ancients have left us such scanty information about the processes of the useful arts. Thus Pliny has passed over the art of dyeing in silence,¹ assigning, as a reason, that it was not reckoned among the liberal arts. And the fact of mechanical labours being committed to slaves, will account for the mechanical arts not making an equal progress with the others. It ought to be remarked, in honour of the Athenians, that they treated their slaves with great humanity. The laws afforded them protection against brutal masters—gave them the right of inheriting property; and freedom was liberally communicated.²

Again, it is evident, that by the institution of slavery, the poorer class of citizens are excluded from many legitimate methods of obtaining a livelihood. Retail business, of any description, was considered disreputable,³ because it brought the citizen into competition with the slaves, or resident aliens. At Athens, we find some demagogue

¹ Nec tingendi rationem omissemus si unquam ea liberalium artium fuisset. See *Rom. Ant.* p. 84. n. ^d.

² Not so the uncultivated Spartans; their treatment of the Helots was disgraceful to human nature. Enfranchised Helots were entitled *Νεαδαμῶδες*, and naturalized Perioeci received the name of *ὑπομειONES*. *Πᾶσιν—καὶ εἰλωσι καὶ νεαδαμῶδεσι, καὶ τοῖς ὑπομειοσι καὶ τοῖς περαιοῖσι.*—*Xen. Hell.* iii. 3. 6. The sons of Spartans, by female Helots, were termed *Mothones*, or *Mothaces*.

³ See *Rom. Ant.* p. 287.

proposing, that all citizens practising any of the illiberal arts should immediately be disfranchised;¹ which actually took place in Epidamnus. Hence the overwhelming necessities of the *demos*, or sovereign people. One of the most cogent arguments brought forward to palliate the glaring misapplication of the money of the allies, to the beautifying of Athens in the time of Pericles, was, that it would furnish employment to the more indigent part of the citizens. Hence, too, we may understand why the citizens should receive money for attending the assemblies, and even for the purpose of attending the theatre;² why the dicasts, or jurymen, should receive so many oboli a day for their services; why there should be so many holidays, public processions, and public feasts; for whether these were furnished at the expense of the public or of individuals, the great bulk of the people obtained two very desirable objects, "bread and amusement."³

In the time of Homer we meet with no coined money. All commerce appears to have been carried on by barter. "Glaucus's armour is worth one hundred oxen, and Diomed's nine;" and the wealth of individuals is estimated by the number of their cattle. As early, however, as the age of Solon, we find coined money in circulation; and, in later times, we meet with a fictitious species of money, similar in principle to our paper-money. At Athens, the legal cur-

¹ *Aristot. Pol.* ii. 7. A provision was made by the state for the *ἀδυνατοί*, or incapable, as the aged and infirm, or the widows and orphans of those who had fallen in battle.

² *Θεωρικά*.
³ *Panem et Circenses. Juv.* x. 80. See, particularly, Xenophon (*Æcon.* ii. 6), who in speaking of the *ἵππορραφίαι*, *χορηγίαι*, the trierarchies, property-tax, &c. remarks, that if the individual should be detected furnishing them scantily, the people would punish him as if he had been detected stealing their property. Hence Isocrates observes, that the "lot of the rich was harder than that of the poor" (*De Pace*, c. 33.); whilst, at the same time, the exactions of the *δῆμος* would tend to weaken the aristocracy, and throw the supreme power, more and more, into their own hands. Thus the more readily the sovereign *demos* was swayed by every transient impression, the more easy it was for the orator to lead them at will (*δημαγωγεῖν*).

rency was almost restricted to silver coins, ranging from the tetradrachm to the quarter obol. Xenophon takes occasion to remark on the confusion that would arise from the introduction of another species of currency:—"If," he says, "any one should tell me that gold is no less serviceable than silver, so far I do not contradict him; but this I know, if gold coin becomes abundant, it sinks in its own value, and raises the value of silver."

Silver coins were first struck at Ægina, 900 B. C., according to the Parian Chronicle, and were soon imitated in all the most important cities of Greece and the colonies. The Athenian coinage was distinguished by its purity; and it was probably owing to its high character, that it retained its coarseness of execution, while the money of inferior states was distinguished for its elegance. Yet the amount of the precious metals was not sufficient to meet the demands of an extensive commerce. Nor was this deficiency supplied even by the *tokens*—for instance, iron-money—which circulated in most of the states, or the bills of exchange which Isocrates has very plainly mentioned.¹ In numerous places barter was prevalent. The interest of money was very high, partly owing to the scarcity of money, and partly to the general insecurity of property.

Attica was by no means a fertile country, and, at all events, its produce was not sufficient to support its inhabitants. It was under the necessity of importing the greater part of its grain, its naval stores, as well as the raw materials for manufacture. Hence the importance to Athens of the dominion of the sea.² Sparta and Thebes being inland towns, and Corinth comparatively a small state, Athens became the chief commercial city of ancient Greece. Her distance from the sea, five miles, was sufficient to afford her security against a sudden descent from an invading armament, while it was sufficiently near to her harbour,

¹ In his *Τραπεζικὸς*.

² i. e. The Ionian and Ægean seas. *Θαλασσοκρατία*.

the Piræus, for the transmission of merchandise. The number of its outlying possessions—the riches of its populous capital—laws favourable to industry—the excellence of its harbour—the political ascendancy which it had obtained in the Persian war, all contributed to secure to Attica an inevitable superiority over its rivals. The greatest portion of the Mediterranean sea—particularly towards Asia, where the Cimonian peace had limited the Persian flag—was filled with her ships. But still more important was her commerce with Egypt, Thrace, and Macedonia; and, above all, with the countries of the Black Sea. The marine, which had been established from the time of Themistocles, insured respect to the Athenian flag.¹

Duties were only exacted for the sake of increasing the public revenue, not to direct the efforts of domestic industry, by the prohibition of certain wares. In this respect, therefore, there existed a freedom of commerce, industry, and trade. The owl was an universal emblem of the Athenians; and it is remarkable that the extent of citizenship was denoted by its union with the national emblems of all the countries that held commercial intercourse with that state. The corn-ear of Sicily, the elephant of Africa, the pegasus of Corinth, the sphynx of Egypt, the lion of Leontium, the flower of Rhodes, are associated with the sacred bird.² Thus Athens, from its numerous work-shops and manufactories, became the grand emporium of commerce; from the celebrity of its philosophical professors, it became the common focus of academical instruction; and from the

¹ *Rotteck*, ii. 496, 497. The Athenians concluded treaties of commerce (σύμβολα) with other independent states, for mutual protection in commerce, and the adjustment of differences. When the public hospitality annexed to the person of the prince terminated with the heroic monarchy, it became the affair of the state to assume the same (προξενία) as a political inheritance. Those acting as *Proxeni* resembled, in a great measure, our modern consuls; with the exception of their being natives of the state where they exercised their functions.

² *Cardwell* on the Coinage of the Greeks and Romans.

splendour of its public buildings, and the general tendency of the inhabitants to indulge in gaiety, it became the resort of all loungers who are seeking after amusement, and all quidnuncs who are inquiring "What is new?"

"States," it has been observed, "may create wants as well as individuals." Thus, for instance, as we have already observed, the citizens were allowed money out of the public purse, to enable them to visit the theatres. The passion of the Athenians for theatrical amusements was very strong; and their orators have left it upon record, that the representation of many of their plays cost as much as the fitting out of an expedition. Though most of the temples had possessions of their own² for the maintenance of the priests, and the performance of the sacrifices, yet the celebration of the public festivals was defrayed at the public expense. The solemn festivals, such as the Dionysiac and Panathenaic, were celebrated at the expense of the *Choragi*, or leaders of choruses furnished by each tribe,—the richest citizens being only appointed to the office. This was the most reputable manner of displaying wealth. And although, as far as we know, public shows were not, in the Grecian cities, so indispensable for gaining the favour of the people as at Rome, political ends might often, perhaps, exercise considerable influence on particular individuals.

The heaviest branch, however, of the public expenditure was the support of the army and navy. Military pay was not introduced previous to the Peloponnesian war, or at least, till the administration of Pericles. A taste for luxury being introduced after the Persian invasion, rendered the rich averse to the toils of a military life, and naturally favoured the employment of mercenary troops, who frequently served without the concurrence or participation of the states to which they belonged. Arcadians, Cretans, and Carians, had fought for pay from the earliest ages. The former were

¹ Demosthenes, in one of his Philippics, lashes this insatiable curiosity of the Athenians.

² *Τεμίνη*.

induced to embrace the profession of mercenaries by their natural predilection for the career of arms, and by the ruggedness and sterility of their native mountains.¹ This practice was doubtless promoted by the conduct of Athens in disarming the "islanders," who were thus compelled to enter into foreign service on their own account (p. 192). Mercenaries, of course, supplied their place; and towards the end of the Peloponnesian war, the prospect of a slight increase of pay was sufficient to induce whole ships' crews to desert from one fleet to another.² The Persians were not long in discovering the secret, and constantly kept in their pay a number of Grecian mercenaries. Such were the troops led by Clearchus in the expedition of Cyrus the younger. Though they made the Asiatics tremble, yet Isocrates informs us that they were the mere dregs of the people, and of such reputations that they could not live in their native cities.³ "Unless we are careful," says he, "to provide for the support of these people, by establishing colonies of them, they will soon collect in vast masses and become more formidable to the Greeks than the barbarians."

The Athenian military force consisted of three classes: first, the heavy troops,⁴ reserved for the phalanx or main battle; secondly, the light troops, destined for skirmishing;⁵

¹ This gave rise to the proverbial expression, 'Αρκάδας μινούμενοι.

² Auxiliary forces, supplied conformably to the conditions of a confederacy, were first designated by the word 'Επίκουροι: the same name was afterwards applied to auxiliaries who received pay, and at last to real mercenaries. Οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι—ἐπεκαλίουτο ἐκ Θεσσαλίας ἐπικουρίην: ἐπεποίητο γὰρ σφι συμμαχίη πρὸς αὐτοὺς.—*Herod.* v. 63. Hence must be explained the word in the passage, i. 64. Πεισίστρατος—ἐρρίζωσε τὴν τυραννίδα ἐπικούροισι τε πολλοῖσι, κ. τ. λ. Compare this with the remark (p. 122) about tyrannies "becoming hereditary, and deriving strength from external connexions," and see *Wachsmuth*, vol. ii. p. 396 note, on the use of the term ἐπικούρος.

³ Οἱ διὰ φαυλότητ' ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν οὐχ' οἶον' ἦσαν ζῆν.—*Paneg.* 40. No allowance, however, is made by Isocrates for the spirit of adventure which doubtless actuated many who joined in this expedition (p. 329).

⁴ Ὀπλίται.

⁵ Πελασται.

thirdly, irregular troops,¹ without defensive armour,² but provided with missile weapons. The phalanx, which consisted entirely of natives of Attica, was drawn up according to tribes or communities, probably with the view of exciting a generous rivalry in arms. The Athenian phalanx was less compact than that of Sparta; but in the charge it was perfectly irresistible. The Spartans, no less than the Athenians, were familiar with the most approved evolutions, which they performed with equal celerity and precision. The rear of the phalanx became the front, or the front the rear, by the shortest and simplest operation; while, by redoubling its formation, it became a solid square, bristling on every side with pikes; and, in locked order, wholly impenetrable to attack, except upon broken ground. Rapid changes of front, even in the presence of an enemy, refusing or advancing a wing at a critical moment, turning an enemy's flank, and many other manœuvres, equally delicate and difficult, were frequently executed with the most complete success by the commanders of these formidable columns.

Philip adopted the Spartan phalanx as his basis, giving it greater depth and solidity, so as to render it irresistible in attack, and impenetrable, when drawn up in position. He changed or improved its armour, both for offence and defence; and, in particular, introduced the large oblong buckler, and the *sarissa*, or Macedonian pike, the most formidable weapon of ancient times. The *Lochagi*, or the heads of files, and the *Ouragi*, or *Serre-files*, were both picked men. In action each man occupied only three feet of ground. The pikes, or *sarissæ*, were 24 feet in length; 6 feet being behind and 18 feet before the grasp. Consequently the second rank advanced the pike 15 feet, the third 12, the fourth 9, the fifth 6, and the sixth 3 feet: thus presenting an array of points such as never bristled along the front of

¹ Γυμνηται.

² Hence the term *Gumnates* was applied to the lower orders and bondmen in Argos.

any other military mass or column. Those who could not employ their pikes, pushed on those before them, and served, by their weight, to augment the violence of the shock. "The phalanx," as Polybius justly observes, "was invincible when united; but it seldom happened that a body, which occupied the space of twenty stadia, or a league, could find a proper field for action. The intervention of a hill, a ditch, a river, or a morass, by destroying its *ordonnance*, rendered it penetrable to the enemy, for the soldier could make no evolution, nor fight man to man. But supposing no foreign obstacles, the phalanx, from its own movements, must necessarily suffer fluctuation in its march; and, whether in pursuit of a flying enemy, or pursued itself, it certainly lost its strength."¹

In those countries where the cavalry formed the nucleus of the armed force, nobility and cavalry were virtually identical terms; as for instance, in Thebes, Thespizæ, Lebadea, Orchomenus, in Chalcis and Eretrian Eubœa, in Magnesia on the Meander, and most probably in Colophon, Crete, and in Cyrene. Amongst the Dorians, heavy-armed infantry constituted the national force; and no cavalry whatever existed till the time of the Peloponnesian war.² Until the reign of Philip of Macedon, Greece had no standing army. Her strength consisted in her militia; and to this description of force she was indebted for the imperishable glories of Marathon, Platææ, and Mycale, where the myriads of the Persian invader were successively overthrown. But from the incessant contests in which the states were engaged with each other, this militia had acquired the principal characteristics of a regular force, both as regards organization and discipline, and consequently was of nearly equal avail against the enemy in the open field.³

¹ Hence its inferiority to the legion.—See the battle of Cynoscephalæ (p. 420). ² See *Wachsmuth*, vol. i. p. 233.

³ Compare Art. ARMY, *Encyc. Brit.* On the oblique order of attack as adopted by Epaminondas at Leuctra and Mantinea, see pp. 306, 315.

In the heroic age, the ships of war were built long,¹ in order to render them fast sailers, and admit a greater number of rowers;² for the rowers all sat in one line on both sides of the vessel.³ This class of vessels was superseded, however, by the *triremes*, distinguished, as the name implies, by three banks of oars.⁴ The fitting out of galleys in Athens had a very prominent share in the public services,⁵ which were borne by the more opulent part of the citizens in rotation.⁶ The naval tactics of the Greeks consisted chiefly in sailing round and through the enemy's line. The object of the first was to extend the line beyond the opposite wings; of the second, to break through that of the enemy. To prevent this, the other fleet was drawn up in two lines, and with intervals, so that the divisions of the second line could pass through the intervals of the first, and assist them when assistance was needed. The Athenians also adopted another method of attack, not with the prow, but obliquely from the side; so that the oars of the enemy's ship were broken, and the ship thus rendered unmanageable. As the triremes were moved more by oars than sails, less depended upon the wind than in modern tactics; and, as battles were fought hand to hand, and the ships always ran along-side of each other, the manœuvres of the fleets could not be so various or decisive. Yet, on the other hand, sea-fights decided wars in ancient much more frequently than in modern times; and in reference to the loss of life, they were infinitely more destructive.⁷

In republics, says Aristotle, the principal source of revenue is derived from the produce of the soil, and commonly a tithe of the fruits and cattle. The revenue derived from

¹ Μακρὰ νῆες, *longæ naves*.

² Because there was only one bank of oars. When the rowers were ranged in a tier of three, as in the triremes, it may easily be calculated how much less space they would occupy.

³ Ἀμφιέλισσαι.

⁴ Till the times of Alexander. Quinquiremes, &c. afterwards came into use.

⁵ Λειτουργίαι.

⁶ Hence termed *ἐγκύκλιαι*.

⁷ Compare *Heeren, Greece*, pp. 208—216.

the public services,¹ including the fitting out of triremes, the charge of the theatrical choruses,² and the gymnastic games, may be considered as a species of direct taxation. Another branch of revenue was derived from the duties on exports and imports, and whatever articles might be offered for sale in the markets.³ To this we must add the protection-money paid by resident aliens,⁴ and the produce of the silver mines of Laurium. With respect to the property tax, if an individual was supposed to have estimated his property at too low a rate, he might be compelled to exchange it for the sum at which he had valued it.⁵ But the most considerable branch of the revenue was the tribute⁶ paid by the allies. All the states in the Athenian confederacy, whether subjects or allies, were liable to the tribute.⁷ When the Athenians became masters of the Ægean sea, they appropriated to themselves, in all subject islands, the collection of the custom-duties (generally 5 per cent.), instead of the tribute which had been previously exacted. The same was done with the very productive duties of Byzantium, which were paid by all ships trading to the Black sea, in the same manner as dues are now levied at the Sound. As duties were a constant source of revenue, they were chiefly destined to meet the current expenses. The extraordinary taxes, as taxes on property, were usually voted by the people, as the occasion required. The senate had the management of the finances.

According to an estimate preserved by Demosthenes, the

¹ Λειτουργίαι. ² Χορηγίαι. ³ Ἀπὸ ἐμπορίων καὶ ἀγορῶν.

⁴ Μερσίκιον. A moderate tax of twelve drachmæ annually for a whole family. Widows, however, paid only six. Each resident alien selected a patron (προστάτης), who was security for his good conduct, and acted as his representative in all public and private transactions. Industry, manufacture, and commerce, were greatly increased by the residence of these aliens.—See *Hermann*, p. 226. The favoured aliens, who were raised to a level with the other citizens, in respect to pecuniary contributions, were termed ἰσοτελεῖς.

⁵ There are three discourses of Demosthenes on the subject of the ἀντίδοσις, or "exchange of estates."

⁶ Φόρος.

⁷ Ὑποτελεῖς φόρον.

territorial value of Attica (i. e. *private property*) amounted to 6,000 talents, or £1,162,500 according to our computation.¹ A hundredth, fiftieth, or even a twelfth part of this capital value, in cases of necessity, was levied for the services of the state. A moderate year's revenue might amount to 1200 talents; so Æschines estimates it under the administration of the demagogue Lycurgus. This, however, does not include the tribute of the allies, which amounted, at first, to 460 talents, then to 600, and was afterwards raised to nearly 1300²; Xenophon says, only 1000³ (?). It seems to have been doubled at once, about 420 B. C., when Alcibiades proposed that the quotas of the allies should be fixed anew.

CHAPTER XLIII.

PROGRESS OF GEOGRAPHY, COMMERCE, AND CIVILIZATION.

Phœnicians—Geography of Homer—Anaximander—Phocæans—Circumnavigation of Africa—Travels of Herodotus—Retreat of the Ten Thousand—Eudoxus—Asiatic Expedition—Alexandria—Eratosthenes—India—Voyage of Nearchus—Spread of Grecian Civilization.

THE higher we ascend in our researches, the more uncertain is our knowledge of historical geography. The most ancient notices indicate the existence of a dense population in Asia at a very early period; and specimens of astronomical calculations, still extant, prove that they had cultivated a familiar acquaintance with the aspect of the starry heavens. Yet we are in want of sufficient data in order to estimate the extent of their knowledge of the earth. The Phœnicians, who were best enabled by their extensive commerce

¹ See *Rom. Antiq.* p. 284, *note*.

² *Andoc. de Pace*, c. 9. ³ *Xen. Anab.* vii. 1. 27.

to furnish us with an account of the ancient world, have left us no particulars relative to their history, their commerce, and their discoveries.¹ The spirit of commercial enterprise appears to have occupied all their energies, and their commercial interests might have induced them to withhold their information on this subject, or to circulate false reports. It is certain that before Pherecydes there existed a tradition that strangers had come from Phœnicia, Lydia, and Egypt, into Greece; whilst marvellous tales, related by emigrants and mariners, stimulated curiosity to behold the birth-places of those reputed fathers of Grecian culture. Greek sages and others traversed Egypt and Asia, and gazed with astonishment on the venerable monuments of hoar antiquity, and the solid and imperishable forms in which the political institutions of those regions were cast.²

As might be expected from the character of the Greeks, they allowed considerable play to the imagination. With the exception of Aristotle, who, in this respect, forms the link of transition, severe investigation did not come into fashion till the period of the *Alexandrine School*. That the Author of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* must have travelled extensively for those times is unquestionable; for besides the accurate knowledge of continental Greece Proper displayed in the 'Catalogue,' it is clear that the poet was acquainted with the islands both in the *Ægean* and *Ionian seas*—Crete, Cyprus, and the coasts of Asia Minor, from the Hellespont indefinitely southward, Phrygia, Caria, Pisidia, and Phœnicia; and possessed also considerable information with respect to Egypt, Lybia, and Ethiopia.

¹ On Phœnician commerce see *Geog.* Ch. V. The Cretans were the first among the Greeks who visited Tyre.—*Herod.* i. 2. On Minos see p. 102, *note*. By the Argonautic expedition, the Greeks became acquainted with the coasts of the Euxine, p. 104.

² *Wachsmuth*, vol. i. pp. 209, 210. "This led to the mythical exaltation of the unknown north; Homer's mention of the Hippomolgi, &c. (p. 110), was added to the legends of Abaris and Zamolxis, and even Magi and Assyrians were drawn into the mystic circle of the barbaric philosophy."—*Ibid.*

Amongst the Trojan allies, the Paphlagonians, from the river Parthenius (*Bartas*) and Cytorum, are mentioned. The river Thermodon (*Termes*) is also named. If the Chalybes are meant in the expression¹, this would be the farthest point eastward, mentioned in the Homeric poems, the Chalybes being in the longitude of Aleppo.² Yet it ought not to be forgotten, that except in respect to the localities of Greece and the coasts of Asia Minor, we must content ourselves with a mass of popular traditions collected from adventurous navigators.³ How scanty is his information respecting Italy? What an air of fable is thrown over *Scheria*, the island of the Phæacians, which is supposed to be represented by our modern Corfu? It would be useless to follow him with our maps; for many of the places existed only in imagination.

Though Hesiod presents us with the same general views of the earth as Homer, yet his information is more definite and extensive in some instances, particularly in Italy, where he mentions the names of several countries. In the land allotted by Homer to the Cimmerians, Hesiod places the Hyperboreans, surrounded by mountains, favoured by a genial climate, and enjoying the pleasures of peaceful seclusion under their own olives. In the north, Eridanus, the "amber stream," flows westward into the ocean, and the Danube into the eastern sea. Near the mouth of the Mediterranean, but in the ocean, he names the island of Erythia, from which Hercules drove away the oxen of Geryon. In the ocean itself he places the "islands of the Happy;" and in Libya the garden of the Hesperides, near

¹ Τηλόθεν ἐξ Ἀλύδης.

² Coleridge, *Classic Poets*.

³ On the Geography of Homer see also p. 119, *supra*. Our limits prevent us from dilating on mythical geography. The poets, it must be observed, retained the fabulous traditions (after they had been exploded by others) for the purposes of poetry. Then navigation was still so imperfect, that they seldom abandoned the coasts; and the only stars mentioned by Homer, are the Great and Little Bear, the Pleiades, Hyades, Orion, and the Dog Star.

Mount Atlas. In the north he names Scythia; and there he places the one-eyed Arimaspi, who waged an incessant war with the Griffins, who collect the gold that was found in vast quantities in the vicinity of that people.—After the time of Hesiod, the geographical knowledge of the Greeks was rapidly extended by their navigation, commerce, and, above all, the numerous colonies which they established.

Just views of cosmography first prevailed in the schools of the philosophers; researches concerning the origin and nature of things led to the figure of the heaven and the earth. Taking his stand upon the doctrines of Thales, who imported his astronomical knowledge from the East, Anaximander was the first who undertook to delineate the surface of the earth, and mark the divisions of land and water upon an artificial globe (600 B. C.). *Yet the earth is still cylindrical*; and its spherical form was not taught till a hundred years later by the Pythagoreans. About this time, the knowledge of the earth, particularly in the West, was considerably extended by the settlement of the Phocæans¹ at Marseilles, on the coast of Gaul. When Alexander began to open the East, Pytheas, one of their citizens, explored the north sea, in the neighbourhood of the polar circle, and discovered *Thule*,² an island of uncertain interpretation. Voyagers who had proceeded far into the western ocean, were supposed to be arrested by the intensity of the darkness.

An earlier undertaking, which deserves to be mentioned, has been the occasion of considerable controversy; namely the *circumnavigation of Africa*, under the Egyptian *Necho*, by means of Phœnician sailors (601 B. C.). They sailed from the Red sea, and after doubling the Cape of Good Hope, they returned by the Mediterranean. Herodotus

¹ The Phocæans discovered the Adriatic, and became better acquainted with Tyrrhenia and Iberia. On the Grecian colonies, see p. 117.

² The poets speak of it as the remotest part of the world towards the north-west.—*Ultima Thule*, *V. G.* i. 30. *Hesperix vada caligantia Thules*.—*Stat. Sylv.* iii. 5, 20.

communicates this expedition on the authority of the Egyptian priests; and the doubt which he appends confirms it. "They relate, what I do not believe, that, in the circumnavigation of Africa, they had the sun on the right." They must have had the sun on their right, after having passed the line.¹ Hanno was sent out by the Carthaginians, to explore the western coast of Africa, and he pushed beyond South Horn; whilst Himilco explored the western coast of Europe, as far as Albion and Ierne—the ancient names of the British islands. With the northern coast of Africa the ancients were better acquainted than we are at the present day—the coast being then occupied by civilized and commercial nations, who pushed their incursions far inland.

Herodotus then may be considered as the primary source of ancient history and geography; for the earlier historians, as the Phœnician Sanchoniathon, and the Greek Pherecydes, Dionysius and Hecataeus, have either wholly perished, or exist only in fragments. The curiosity which animated the intelligent Greeks of that period, Thales, Solon, &c. induced Herodotus, at the early age of twenty-seven, to visit all countries that could present anything worthy of observation to the eye, not only of the *traveller*, but of the inquiring *historian*. Egypt he explored to its utmost limits beyond the pyramids; from thence he proceeded to the north coast of Africa, where he appears to have pushed as far as Carthage. Phœnicia was the next object of his visit: through Palestine and Syria he penetrated as far as Babylon.

On his return, Herodotus visited several cities of Asia Minor, navigated the Black sea, and became acquainted with the lands on the coast—Colchis (the modern Mingrelia) and the countries inhabited by the Scythian tribes. Proceeding through Thrace, Macedonia, and Epirus, he directed his steps to Greece and the islands. Beyond the pillars of Hercules, he was acquainted with Tartessus, Ga-

¹ *Larcher ad Herod.* l. c. 3, 458. Cf. *Rennell*, l. c. 718.

deira, &c. The Danube flows through the midst of Europe into the Euxine: in the extreme north, he places the Hyperboreans, Arimaspeæ, &c. He afterwards went with an Athenian colony to *Thuriæ* in Italy, situated on the Tarentine Gulf, and occupying the site of the ancient Sybaris. Here he not only made himself acquainted with his adopted country, but passed over into Sicily. How unimportant at this period must Rome have been to the stranger? He never mentions it once by name, though he speaks of the *Tyrrheni* (in modern Tuscany), and has collected for us the minutest information relative to India and the interior of Africa. Does not this, in conjunction with other *data*, lead us to suspect that the Roman historians, out of a patriotic vanity, have wonderfully embellished the dark traditions of this period, when Rome, perhaps, existed as a provincial town under Etruscan dominion?

Herodotus divides the inhabited regions of the earth into two great halves, which were separated by the Straits of Gibraltar, the Mediterranean, the Black sea, the Phasis, the Caspian, and the Araxes.¹ The northern half he names Europe, and the southern Asia, to which he adds Libya as a peninsula.² The division into three portions, Europe, Asia, and Libya (Africa), proceeds from the Ionians, but Herodotus rejects it, observing, that there were no other boundaries for Asia and Libya save the boundaries of Egypt.³ According to Herodotus, India terminates in a desert; for, as far as his knowledge extended, southern India terminated in the desert of Cobi, and northern India in the sandy desert which stretches from Guzerat to Multan. In the western ocean he places the Cassiterides or islands (?) which supply tin and amber.

As the sphere of operations extended, information became more definite. Thus the *Peloponnesian war*, described by Thucydides, throws a new light upon Sicily; and the coura-

¹ *Herod.* iv. 37—42.

² *Ibid.* iv. 41, 42.

³ *Ibid.* ii. 16.

geous Retreat of the Ten Thousand, conducted and described by Xenophon, extends our acquaintance with Mesopotamia, the mountains of the *Carduchii*, and Armenia. The cruel regulations of the selfish Carthaginians, prevented the West of Europe from being better explored. At the same time, the progress in art and science exerted a most beneficial influence upon cosmography. Astronomy and mathematics were prosecuted with great enthusiasm; many geographical works appeared, amongst which we would mention the description of the earth by *Eudoxus*, which *Strabo* frequently makes use of as his basis. How general was the use of maps is proved by the well-known story of Socrates, who refers his disciple, Alcibiades, to one, in order to point out the situation and extent of his possessions.

A new epoch commences with the expedition of Alexander to Asia, who has been too frequently represented as a mere conqueror. He was accompanied by many geographers, who were commissioned to mark the distances, and to explore the countries. Every general was bound to furnish him with the description of a reduced province. None of the works, however, written by those who accompanied him, as the historians Aristobulus and Diodotus, the philosopher Callisthenes, or the generals Eumenes and Ptolemæus Lagi, have come to our times—a circumstance which may be chiefly ascribed to the destruction of the great Alexandrine library. *Arrian*, however, a Roman senator and consul in the time of the Antonines, made a judicious use of them in the composition of his works, relative to the expedition of Alexander, and India; for *Curtius* has confessedly written with more attention to style than to matter. Ample testimony, however, is furnished by facts, and their undeniable consequences—for none of the great men of antiquity have produced such an effect upon their own and succeeding times as Alexander.

What an event in the history of the world was the founding of Alexandria, at the Canopian mouth of the Nile, on a

site which connected Europe with Africa, Arabia, and India? How must we admire the sagacity of the man, who found out a point so important, that Carthage, then mistress of the sea, immediately took the alarm? After the subjugation of Darius, Alexander's invasion was directed against northern India, or the Panjab (i. e. the land of five streams), now the seat of the Sheikhs and Mahrattas. The eastern verge reached in this expedition was the river Hyphasis (*Beyah*). Here, though he had proceeded half way to the Ganges, a mutiny which broke out in his army compelled him to retreat. Having returned through the country of the Malli (*Multan*), as far as the Hydaspes, where the majority of his troops took ship—he himself proceeded across the desert, and the unexplored provinces of Gedrosia and Carmania. On his return to Babylon, he entertained the plan of converting it into the capital of his empire; but death surprised him in the midst of his preparations for the circumnavigation of Africa and the reduction of the West. What Alexander had commenced was accomplished in another manner. The three quarters of the world were brought into more immediate contact by the great caravan-routes which led from Asia Minor to Bactria and India, and from Babylon to the southern coasts of the Mediterranean, as well as by the new route by sea, which, under the superintendence of the Ptolemies, placed Egypt in connexion with Arabia and India.

Navigation was also considerably improved in this period. Hitherto it had been confined merely to coasting, so that during the Peloponnesian war no news was received at Athens from Sicily throughout the four winter months. But now, with a favourable wind, ships sailed direct from Alexandria across the sea to Puteoli in Italy, and even from the Arabian Gulf to India. This rapid intercourse exerted an immediate and direct influence upon science. Alexandria, with its extensive library,¹ and under the dominion of kings

¹ *Elegantiae regum curæque, egregium opus.*—*Liv.*

who promoted every species of culture, and, in particular, applied large sums to the furtherance of geographical inquiry, became the centre of learned investigations. Though the creative genius of an earlier period had perished, yet particular sciences gained in extent and accuracy. The example had been set by Aristotle, who makes an epoch in the department of the sciences, as Alexander did on the theatre of human affairs.

The new discoveries, and particularly that of India, directed attention to astronomy, mathematics, geography, and a knowledge of nature. It was perceived that neither the figure of the earth, nor the situation of countries and cities, could be determined with any degree of accuracy, without deriving assistance from the heavens. The first comprehensive work of this nature was written by *Eratosthenes*, who has been termed the cosmographer and geometer of the world. With the aid of instruments he was enabled to measure the obliquity of the ecliptic, and a degree of the meridian; and he determined the extent and circumference of the earth. He first introduced into his map a regular parallel of latitude, and is supposed to have been the inventor of the Armillary sphere. He divides the earth into two halves, by the equator; but yet he was of opinion that all the inhabitable regions are situated in the northern half.

The Ptolemies appreciated all the advantages of their position. Among other improvements connected with Alexandria, we may mention the erection of a *light* on the isle of Pharos, which covered the harbour; the completion of a canal to the Red sea, which had been commenced by the Pharaohs, and, according to Herodotus, continued by Darius Hystaspes. The harbours were improved; men of acknowledged experience (as Megasthenes and Dionysius) were sent to India; the sphere of commercial transactions was extended, and all was animated with Grecian activity. The Greeks of Egypt, and not the Egyptians, became the carriers of the

Mediterranean, as well as the agents, factors, and importers of oriental produce.

Another important undertaking of Alexander the Great, was the voyage of Nearchus from the mouth of the Indus to the Persian Gulf, and which was intended to facilitate commerce with the wealthy regions of India. The voyage was completed in five months; and the journal of Nearchus has been preserved by Arrian. After the death of Alexander, the conquered countries fell into the hands of his enterprising generals, a circumstance highly favourable to the prosecution of geographical inquiry. The Seleucids (before the rise of the Parthian power) and the Ptolemies divided the commerce in the Indian sea; all the coasts of Arabia were visited, and voyages extended even to Malabar and Ceylon (*Taprobane*). Hippalus was the first who sailed direct over the sea to India. Seleucus Nicator penetrated with his army as far as the Ganges. Bengal, Agra, and Delhi, became known to the Europeans; the great Palibothra, at the junction of the Soanes and Ganges, was discovered; and from that period became a most important *depôt* for commerce. In addition to the earlier routes, wares were now conveyed from the Indus through Central Asia, partly up the river, till a short passage by land brought them to the Oxus, down which they were floated into the Caspian, thence into the Cur, and, after another overland transit, they reached the Phasis and the Black sea. At a still later period, the Volga and Tanais (*Don*) were made use of instead of the last-mentioned rivers.

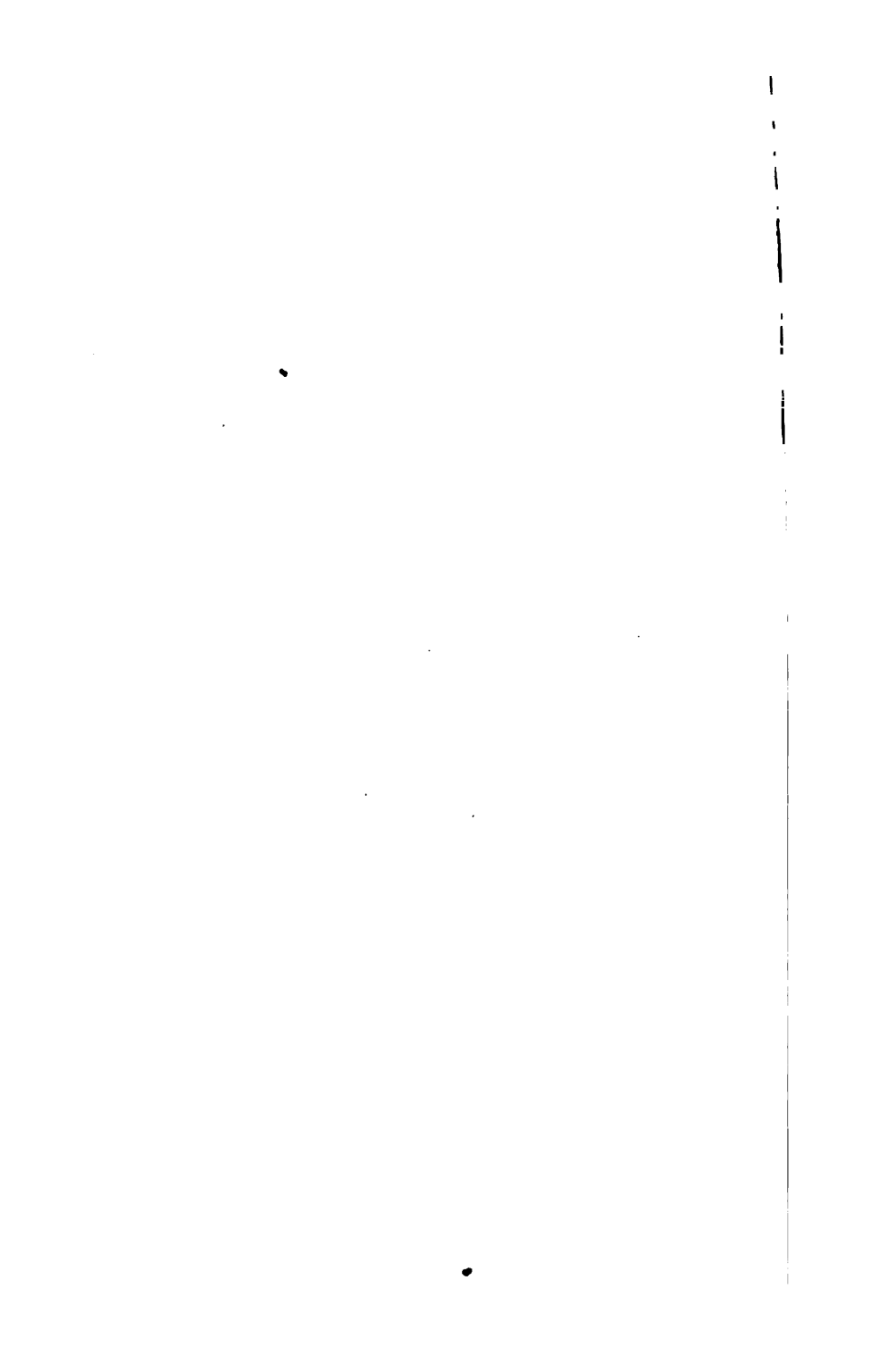
How far Greek civilization was extended by means of colonies, commerce, and conquest, may be pretty clearly understood from our survey of the Grecian colonies, and the history of Alexander's invasion of Asia. Not that the same degree of civilization prevailed in every country where the Greeks settled. The peculiarities of climate, the influence of strange manners or political relations, would give

rise to many differences; distant colonies, surrounded by barbarians, could not be expected to keep pace with the mother-country; and, in particular, the Macedonian military colonies were by no means identical with the republican settlements of an earlier period. Alexander, according to Plutarch,¹ founded or colonized seventy cities in Asia.

But the language and the civilization of the Greeks were extended much beyond the limits of their dominion. The writings of the Egyptians, Syrians, Babylonians—the inhabitants of Asia Minor, &c. and, in some measure, those of the Jews as well as the Romans of the East, at a later period, all contributed to increase the resources of the Greek language. Grecian architecture and sculpture adorned the countries as far as the Oxus and the Indus, and the court of Parthia indulged itself in the exhibition of Greek plays. Even throughout the countries where the Latin language was spoken, Greek was considered as the universal medium of education, and the proper organ of literary and philosophical intercourse. Its influence could not be otherwise than beneficial, for the Greek language was not a dead language, but a language living among widely extended nations, and susceptible of indefinite expansion to meet the demands of a progressing civilization.² But here we must pause—our limits and our design equally preclude us from showing the connexion of *Hellenism* (if we may so term it) with oriental philosophy—with the early progress of Christianity—with Mahomedism, which absorbed the eastern empire of the middle ages; and with the course of literature and art down to the latest Byzantine writers—the echoes of earlier and better times.

¹ *Plut.* i. 5.

² Roman youths, when they had assumed the *toga virilis* in their seventeenth year, were sent to Greek cities (*Athens, Antioch, Marseilles*) to complete their education.—*Rom. Antiq.* pp. 305, 306.



INDEX.

A

Abdera, 57
 Abydos, 57
 Academia, 39
 Acarnania, 50
 Achaia, 26
 Acheloius, 49
 Acheron, 53
 Acritas, C. 19
 Acroceraunia, 53
 Acrocorinthus, 16
Acropolis at Athens, 34
 Actium, 50
 Ἀδυνατοί, 444
 Aegean Sea, 65
Ægicoreis, explanation of, 133
 Ægina, 30
 Ægium, 27
 Ægeopotamos, 58
Æs Corinthium, 28
 Ætolia, 49
 Aganippe, 42
 Ἀγίλαι of Spartan Youths, 125
 Ἀγορὰ πολαίικη at Olympia, 429
 Agonothetæ, 24
 Agragas, 73
 Agrigentum, 73
 Ἀγῶγμοι ἐπὶ σώμασιν, in reference to debtors, 138
 Aigialæa, 20
 Αἰολόστομοι χρησμοί, 47
 Ἀκραι enumerated, 16
 Alpheus, 20
 Ambracia, 54
 Ἀμφιέλισσαι, 451.
 Amphipolis, 56
 Ἀμφικτιόνες, etymology of, 426
 Amorgos, 62

Amphictyonic Councils, enumeration of, 426
 Amyclæ, 21
Anabasis, etymology of, 280
 Anapos, 50
 Ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν, 111
 Andania, 22
 Ἀνδρεία of Spartans, 125
 Andros, 62
 Ἀνεύθυνος, 440
 Ἀνοπλοι, 177
 Anticyra, 47
 Ἀντίδοσις, in reference to exchange of property, 452
 Antiparos, 61
 Ἀνυπεύθυνοι, in reference to Judges, 127
 Antium, 58
 Ἀξένοι, 429
 Ἀπαρχαὶ ἀνθρώπων, synonymous with the Latin 'Ver Sacrum,' 117
 Apidanus, 51
 Ἀποθάθρα, 57
 Ἀποκλητοί 412
 Ἀποικίαι, distinguished from Colonies, 193
 Ἀποικος, distinguished from ἔποικος, 435
 Ἀποινα, 109
 Ἀποκοπή χρεῶν, *novæ tabulæ*, 139
 Ἀπολίτευτα, 147
 Apollonia, 58, 70
 Arcadia, 31
Archons, office of, 136
Areopagus, jurisdiction of, 141 ; hill of, 38
 Ἀρετή, definition of, 121

Argadeia, explanation of, 133
Argolis, 29
Argonautica, erroneously ascribed to Orpheus, 103
Argos, 29; *Hippium*, 'Ἰππόδατον, 29; the Amphilocheian, 50
Ἄριστοι, to whom applied, 121
Ἄρχαι, 439
Ἀρχικλωψ, 412
Artemisium, 63
Asara, 45
Ἄστυ, distinguished from πόλις, 133
Astypalaia, 62
Ἀτίλεια, with respect to taxes, 436
Athens, 34
Athos, 55
Ἄτιμος, 137
Attica, 33; etymology of, 34
Aulis, 46
Aurichalcum, 28
Ἀντερίται—καὶ μάχιμοι, in the Trojan Expedition, 112
Ἀυτογνώμονες, 'without appeal,' 127
Autochthones, etymology of, 98; at Athens synonymous with *Eupatridæ*, 132
Ἀυτόδικοι, 180
Ἀυτονομία, 180
Ἀυτοτελεία, 180
Ἀυτοτελῶς, see *Δικάζειν*
Azones, explanation of, 142

B

Bacchus, Theatre of, 38
Barbarian, origin of the term, 101; originally employed to designate harshness of language, 110
Βασιλεὺς, distinguished from *ῥύπαννος*, 121, 123; applied to the second Archon, 136
Βασιλεύτατος (*Il. x.* 69), 121
Bæotia, 41
Βοή, opposed to *ψήφος*, 127
Borysthenes, 69.
Bosphorus, Thracian, 65
Βοναγός, 125
Βούαι at Sparta, 125

Βουλή—μεγαθύμων—γερόντων.
Hom. Synonymous with *Ἠγήτορες* ἡδὲ *μίδοντες*, 106
Βουλή, ἡ ἄνω, the Areopagus, as distinguished from the 'Senate of 500,' 141
Buthrôtum, 54
Byzantium, 57, 69

C

Cadmea, 43
Calauria, 30
Calydon, 49
Camarina, 73
Carpathus, 62
Cassandria, 56
Cassiterides, 43
Castalia, 46
Catana, 72
Cayster, 67
Cenchreæ, 27
Ceos, 62
Cephalenia, 59
Cephissus, 35, 42
Ceramicus, 38
Ceraunii Montes, 53
Chæronæa, 45
Chalcedon, 69
Chalciaecus, etymology and explanation of, 21
Chalcis, 16, 63
Chersonese, Thracian, 57; etymology of, 57
Chios, 64
Cimolos, 62
Cirrhæ, 47
Cithæron, 42
Citium, 70
Χορηγίαι, 444
Cleruchî, 148
Cnidos, 69
Cocythus, 53
Colophon, 68
Coma Berenices, 407
Copais, 42
Corcyra, 59
Corinth, 27
Bimaris Corinthus, 27
Corinthiacus Sinus, 27
Cos, 62
Cosmî in Crete, 125

Cothurnus, applied to Thera-
menes, 250
Crete, 59
Croton, 71
Crypteia, in reference to the He-
lots, 127
Cumæ, 72
Cyclades, 61
Cyclic Poets, 82, 430
Cyclopes, explanation of, 99
Cyclopic Walling, 98
Cydonia, 60
Cyllene, 25; Mount, 32
Cyme, 67
Cynosarges, 39
Cyprus, 69
Cyrbes, explanation of, 142
Cyrene, 70
Cythera, 22
Cyzicus, 69

D

Δαμασίμβροτος, applied to Spar-
ta, 129
Δαμιονργοί, among the Achæans,
412
Decaduchi, successors of the
‘Thirty,’ 272
Delphi, 46
Delos, 61
Demetrius, 17
Demiurgi, an Attic tribe, 134
Δῆμος, applied to the Athenians
in Homer, 109; a ward, 436
Demotæ, 188
Dia, 62
Diacriai, 34
Διαμίσου τεῖχος explained, 35
Dicte, 59
Δικασπόλοι, 442
Διδάσκειν δράματα, 90
Δικάζειν αὐτοτελῶς, applied to
‘irresponsible jurisdiction,’ 129
Δίκη, distinguished from *θίμις*,
106
Διοικισμός, ‘dispersion in villa-
ges,’ 296
Διολκος, applied to the Isthmus,
28
Dioscurias, 69
Dirce, 42

‘Ο δῶκων, why applied to the
‘plaintiff,’ 132
Dodona, 54
Δοκιμασία, in reference to candi-
dates, 140, 438
Donyssa, 62
Doris, 48
Δορυφόροι of Philip, 320
Drepane, 59
Δροσκεφαλαί, 16
Dulichium, 59
Δυναστεία, opposed to *δολιγαρχία*
ισόνομος, 161
Dyme, 27
Dynasts, properly applied to the
‘Thirty,’ 269
Dyrrhacchium, 54

E

Echœa, 90
‘Η ἔξω ἡπειρος, 18
Ἡγεμονία, 162
‘Εγκησεις, 436
‘Εγκύκλιαι, applied to Liturgies,
451
Εἰσην=*ἄρχων*, 125
Εἰσβολαί, 15
‘Εκατόμπολις, 59
‘Εκκλησία at Athens, 140
‘Εκκλησιάζουσai of Aristopha-
nes, 437
‘Εκκλησίαι κυρίαί, 436; Σύγκλη-
τοι, 437
Eleusis, 39
Elis, 23
‘Ελληνες νεανίσκοι, 250
‘Ελληνοταμίας, 185
‘Εμφρουροι, 21
Enipeus, 51
Epariti, an Arcadian military
force, 309
Ephesus, 68
Epheta, court of, 137
Ephori, power of, 127
‘Επιγαμία, 436
Epidamnus, 54
Epidaurus, 30
Εριγονί, 104
‘Επικούροι, 448
‘Επιμαχία, distinguished from
συμμαχία, 123

Epirus, 53
Ἐπίσκοποι, 191
Eponymus, why applied to the first Archon, 136
Ἐπικός, 435
Ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας, subject of, 104
 Eretria, 63
Esoteric philosophy, 353
Ἑστιάσις, 188
 Etesian Winds, 46
 Euboea, 63
Εὐθύνη, 439
Εὐθύνοι, 440
Eupatrides, 134
 Euripus, 63
 Eurotas, 20
Εὐρύγυνια πόλις, 110
Euxinus, etymology of, 14
 Evenus, 49

G

Gades, 43
 Gela, 73
Geleontes, see *Teleontes*.
Γέρα, 440
Γερουσία, or senate, 106
Γεωμῆροι, etymology and explanation of, 115; applied to the 'cultivators' as well as the 'proprietors' of the soil, 115, 134
Γεωργεῖν=*ἐκληρουχεῖν*, 148, 303
 Gnossos, 60
 Gomphi, 52
 Gortyna, 60
Γραμματεὺς, 441
Γραφή παρανόμων, 142, 250, 318; *ἀσεβείας*, 328
 Grynæum, Grynia, 67
Γυμνηταί, 449
Γυμνήτες or *Γυμνήσιοι*, 127
 Gyarus, 62
 Gytheum, 21

H

Hadrianopolis, 58
 Hæmus, 56
 Halicarnassus, 68
Harmost, explanation of, 275
 Hebrus, 57

Hecaton Nesoi, 67
Hectemorii, why applied to the 'cultivators' of the soil, 134
Hegemony of Sparta, 179, 295; of Athens, 185, 205
Helica, court of, 141
 Helicon, 42
 Hellas, 38
Hellenes, when assumed as a national title, 100
Hellenodica, at the Olympic games, 24, 99
 Heraclea, 69
Heræon of Juno, 30
Hercules, pillars of, 119
Herculeum Fretum, 119
Hermocopida, prosecution of, 234
 Hermus, 67
 Hestiseotis, 52
Hieromenia, in honour of Demetrius, 400
 Hippocrene, 42
Hoplites, an Attic tribe, 134
Hoplita, in war, 139
 Hybla, 72
 Hyela, 72
 Hylice, 42
 Hymettus, 34
Hypomeiones, at Sparta, 443

I

Ἰάονες ἐλεχίτωνες, 66
 Ida, 59
Ἰερὰ σύγκλητος at Olympia, 422
Ἰερομνήμονες of the Amphictyons, 428
Ἰερὸς λόχος at Thebes, 301
Iliad, derivation and subject of, 104; *ἐκ τοῦ νάρθηκος*, 353
 Iliassus, 35
 Inachus, 50
 Iolcos, 52
 Ionia, 67
Ἰππεῖς, 139
Ἰπποτροφίαι, 444
Ἰσηγορία at Athens, 438
Isonomia, definition of, 437
Ἰσοτελεῖς, 452
Ἰσότης κατ' ἀξίαν, 436
Ἰσοψηφία, 428
 Ismenos, 45

Istamboul, see *Stamboul*
Ister, 14
Ithaca, 59
Ithome, 23

K

Καιετάεσσα, applied to *Laconia*, 17
Καλοί και άγαθοί, 434
Καταλογεύς, 250; *Οι έξω καταλόγου*, 'not included in the list of citizens,' 269
Κληροί, 148
Κληρουχείν = *γεωργείν*, 148
Κορυνηφόροι in *Sicyon*, 127
Κορυστής άνήρ, synonymous with *πρόμαχος*, 113
Κρυπτεία, design of, 194
Κτίσεις, poems so called, 97, 83
Κωμηδόν, κατά κόμας, 122

L

Lacedæmon patiens, 125
Laconia, 20
Λακεδαιμών εκατόμπολις, in reference to the *Periæci*, 115
Lampsacos, 69
Lariassa, 52
Laurium, 34
Lechæon, 27
Λειτουργίαι, 451
Lemnos, 63
Leontium, 72
Lerna, 30
Lesbos, 64
Lethe, 42
Leucadia, 50
Leuctra, 306
Λογισταί, 440
Λογογράφοι, explanation of, 97, 83
Locri, 71
Locri Ozolæ, Opuntii, Epicnemidii, Hesperii, 48; *Epizephyrii*, 71
Locris, 48
Lycæon, 32
Lyceum, 39
Lycormas, 49

M

Macedonia, 54; *prima, secunda, salutaris*, 55
Mæander, 67
Mænalus, 31
Magna Græcia, 71
Magnesia, 52, 68
Μακεδονίζειν, 391
Μακραί νῆες, 451
Malea C., 19; *Undisonæ umbo Maleæ*, 19
Mantineæ, 32
Μάντις, inspiration of, 107
Μαντοσύνη, nature of, 107
Marathon, 40
Μαραθωνομάχοι, applied to the Athenians, 181
Mare Internum, 13
Massilia, 68
Ματαπαι, *C.* etymology of, 19
Megalopolis, 32
Megara, 41, 72
Megaris, 41
Meles, 67
Μελλονικιᾶν, Νικία modo cunctari, 218
Melos, 62
Messene, 22
Messenia, 22
Messina, 72
Methone, 56
Methymnæ, 64
Μετοίκιον, paid by resident aliens, 183, 452
Μέτροκος, distinguished from *ξίνος*, 436
Miletus, 68
Minerva promachus, statue of, 37
Μισθός βουλευτικός, 438
Mitylene, 64, 67
Mnemosyne, 42
Morea, etymology of, 19
Μουσική, definition of, 435
Mothones or *Mothaces*, 443
Munychia, 35
Mycenæ, 30
Mythographi, 83

N

Naupactus, 49

Nauplia, 29
 Naxos, 62
Νεαδαμῶδες at Sparta, 143
 Neapolis, 72
 Nemea, 30
 Nemesis, 87
 Neo-Paphos, 70
 Nestos, 55
 Nicopolis 54
Νόμισμα, derivation of, 108
Νόμος, definition of, 437
Νομοφύλακες at Sparta, 128
Νομῶδες, 439
Νόστοι, 83
Νόθοι, inscribed in the Phratrias, 217
Nummus, *Numus*, etymology of, 108
 Nysæa, 41

O

Odyssey, derivation and subject of, 104
 Œta, 46, 51
Ὠγύγια *κακά*, 43
 Olbia, 69
 Olenos, 49
Ὀλιγαρχία *ἰσόνομος* explained, 122; opposed to *δυναστεία*, 161
 Olympia, 23
 Olympus, 51
Olynthiacs of Demosthenes, 333
 Olynthus, 56
Ὀμηρος, etymology of, 81
Opisthodomus, 38
Ὀπλίται, 448
Ὀπλιτευκότες, 438
 Orchomenus, 46
Ὀρθροβάς, 397
Ὀροί, set up on mortgaged lands, 139
 Ortygia, 61
 Ossa, 51
Ostracism, explanation of, 156

P

Pagassæ, 52
 Pactolus, 67
 Pæstum, 72
Παῖδες *ιατρῶν*, *ζωγράφων*=*ιατροί*, *ζωγράφοι*, 134

Palæ-Paphos, 70
 Palus Mæotia, 69
Pancratium, 429
 Pangæus, 55
Panhellenes, to whom applied, 100
 Panionium, 68
 Paracheloitis, 49
Parali, 34
Παραπρεσβεία, 337
Παῦρησία, equivalent to *ἰσηγορία*, 438
 Parrhasius, 32
 Parnassus, 46
 Parthenon, 37
 Parthenope, 72
Parthenii, story of, as explained by Niebuhr, 130
 Patmos, 62
 Patræ, 27
Πίδαι *Ἑλληνικαὶ* enumerated, 16
Πιδᾶι, 34
Πελαγίζειν, 112
Πελαργοί, applied to the Pelasgi, 101
Pelasgi, etymology of, 99; why termed divine, 112
 Pelasgiotis, 52
 Pelion, 52
 Peloponnesus, 19
 Pella, 56
Πελασταί, 448
 Peneus, 20, 51
Persike, at Sparta, 21
Pentacosiomedimni, 140
Pentathlon, 24
 Penticlicus, 62
Periæci, etymology and explanation of, 115
 Perrhæbia, 52
Persæ of Æschylus, 171
Petalism=*Ostracism*, 156
Φάλαγγες, 113
 Phalerum, 35
 Pharsalus, 52
Φειδιτία, applied to the public mess at Sparta, 125, 126
Ὁ φεύγων, why applied to the 'defendant,' 132
 Philippi, 56
 Philippopolis, 57
Φιλιτία, see *φειδιτία*
 Phocæa, 68

Phocis, 46
 Φόρος, 180; imposed by Athens, 185
 Phthiotis, 52
 Φυγάδες, φεύγοντες, 298
 Φυλή, 436
 Phyle, 40
 Pindus, 51
 Plataeæ, 45
 Πλαταιασμός of the Doric dialect, 125
Plynteria, ceremony of, 26
 Piræus, 35
 Pisatis, 23
 Pnyx, 38
 Ποικίλη, sc. στοά, 39, 154; at Sparta, 21
Polemarch, office of a, 136
 Πόλις, used for 'Ακρόπολις, 133
 Πολιτεύεσθαι, opposed to στρατηγεῖν, 140
 Pontus Euxinus, 14, 65
 Posidonia, 72
 Potidæa, 56, 69
 Πράσιν αἰτεῖσθαι, in reference to slaves, 140
 Priene, 68
 Προβούλεμμα,
 Πρόβουλοι, 161
 Προεστάναι τῆς 'Ελλάδος, 131
 Πρόμαχοι, to whom applied, 113
 Propontis, 13, 65
 Propylæa, 36
 Προσίληνοι, why applied to the Arcadians, 115
 Πρόσταται, 309; Προστάτης τοῦ δήμου, 440
 Πρυτανή, 151
 Προξενία, 446
Prytaneis, *Prytaneum*, 137
 Ψηφίσματα, 439
 Πύλαι, 15
 Πυρρίχαι of the curates, 125
 Pydna, 56
 Pylæ, 163
Pylagoræ of the Amphictyons, 428
Pylaicum consilium, 47
 Pylus, 23

R

'Ραψόδος, distinguished from αἰὺς, 79
 Rhamnus, 40
 Rhegium, 72
 Rheneia, 61
 Rhodes, 60
 Rhodope, 57
 'Ρῆτραι, various interpretations of, 129

S

Salamis, 40; *Ambigua*, 40, 70
 Samos, 64
 Samothrace, 63
Sarissa, or Macedonian pike, 320
 Saronicus Sinus, 27
 Scaptesyle, 53
 Schœnus, 27
 Scyllæum, Prom. 20
 Scyros, 63
Seisacthia, etymology of, 139
 Selinus, 73
Selli, Priests of Dodona, 98
 Senate, duties of the Athenian, 140
 Sestos, 57
 Sicyon, 27
 Σιδηροφορεῖσθαι, explanation of, 102
 Sinope, 69
 Siphnos, 62
 Σκηπτοῦχοι βασιλεῖς, authority of, 105
 Smyrna, 67
 Sozopolis, 58
 Sparta, 21
 Sperchius, 51
 Sphacteria, 23
 Σφήκες of Aristophanes, 441
 Σπονδαὶ τριακονταῖταις, 203
 Σπονδοφόροι 'Ηλείοι explained, 429
 Sporades, 61, 62
 Stagira, 56
Stamboul, origin of the name, 117
 Stenyclerus, 22
 Στρατηγεῖν, distinguished from πολιτεύεσθαι, 140
 Στρατηγός, 412
 Strongyle, 62

Strymon, 56
 Stymphalus, 32
 Styx, 32
 Συγγραφῆς, to frame laws, 250
 Συκοφάντης, explanation of, 442
 Σύμβολα, 446
 Συμμαχία, distinguished from
 ἐπιμαχία, 123
 Συνέδριον κοινόν, held at the
 Isthmus, 179
 Συνθήκαι διὰ λόγων, 129
 Sunium Prom. 40
 Συντάξεις, substituted for 'tri-
 bute,' 303
 Συσσιρία at Sparta, 125
 Sybaris, 71
 Symplegades, 58
 Syracuse, 72

T

Tagos, in Thessaly, 124
 Tænarum, 19
 Tanagra, 46
 Tarentum, 71
 Tartessus, 43
 Taurominium, 72
 Taygetus, 19
 Tegea, 32
 Τειχομαχίην, 195
 Teleontes, an Attic tribe, 134
 Τίμεινος, explanation of, 108
 Tempe, 52
 Tenedos, 64
 Teos, 68
 Τετραπολις, Doric, 48
 Τηλόθεν ἐξ' Ἀλύδης, 455
 Θαλασσοκρατία, 445
 Thasos, 63
 Thebais of Statius, subject of, 104
 Thebes, 45
 Θειασμῶ—προσκεείμενος, spoken
 of Nicias, 244
 Θέμις, distinguished from δίκη,
 106
 Theseus, temple of, 38
 Thessaly, 50
 Thera, 62
 Therapnæ, 22

Θεράπωντες, in the Homeric age,
 113; at Sparta, 127
 Thermæ, 56
 Thermopylæ, 48
 Thermos, 49
 Thesmothetæ, office of, 136
 Thessalonica, 56
 Thebes, at Athens, 139
 Θεωρικά, 444
 Thrace, 56
 Θρίπτρα, explanation of, 108
 Thule, 456
 Thurii, 71
 Τίμημα, census, adopted as the
 basis of government, 122
 Tower of the winds, 38
 Trachin, 52
 Tragedians, dialect of, 90
 Tragedy, etymology of, 89
 Traganopolis, 58
 Trapezus, 69
 Τριγωνία, 221
 Τριχάϊκες, applied to the Dorians
 in Crete (*Hom.*), 125
 Trophonius, cave of, 42
 Triphylia, 23
 Τύραννος, distinguished from
 βασιλεὺς, 121, 123
 Tyrant, original application of the
 term, 122, 144
 Tyrius, 30

U

*Υπαρχος, 158
 *Υπήκοοι, subject allies, 441
 *Υπηρεσία, 439
 *Υποτελείς φόρον, 452

X

Ξενηλασία, at Sparta, 127

Z

Zacynthus, 59
 Zancle, 72
 Ζεὺς, why surnamed φύξις, ικε-
 τήσιος, 109

